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**OCCASIONAL SPEECHES
AND WRITINGS
*THIRD SERIES***

OCCASIONAL SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

THIRD SERIES

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THE IDEAL OF DEMOCRACY

I am happy to be here and meet the members of your National Assembly. According to the Constitution of India, it is the function of the Vice-President to preside over the Upper House and I am not, therefore, altogether unfamiliar with parliamentary work. Since you have honoured me by this invitation to address you, I shall say a few words about the working of democracy in India.

Freedom has many implications, the chief one being to provide scope for the expression and development of the individual human being. Marx criticized capitalist industrialism on the ground that it dehumanized man and pleaded for a socialist society which would help man to realize his intellectual and spiritual possibilities. All other freedoms—political, economic and social—are an indispensable means to this spiritual freedom. It is in an atmosphere of freedom that a hundred flowers will bloom and a hundred schools of thought will contend. The progress of mankind is ensured by a free exchange and clash of ideas. Man is not completely a social being; there is also a solitary side to him. It is by the way in which one handles his solitariness that man becomes truly human. All the great works of art and literature, philosophy and religion, science and technology spring from the way in which man impregnates his experience by the intensity of his own vision. Democracy is a faith in the spiritual possibilities of not a privileged few but of every human being.

It follows as a necessary consequence that our fellow-beings have also a similar right to the development of their personality. This right should be respected and not encroached upon in the exercise of one's own individual freedom. The essence of democracy is thus the recognition of other people's right to self-government. Freedom finds its fulfilment in the service of others.

Parliamentary democracy, which we have adopted, seems to us to be the best form of government, a happy blend of dignity and stability. It is the government of the people by the people through their elected representatives and not by fortuitous leaders. Political democracy gives one the right of lifting up one's voice and uttering one's

Frankfurt, 24 July, 1959

opinions. This, however, implies education, universal and uninhibited. By periodical elections Government maintains close contact with the people. In 1952, 106 millions, in 1957, 115 millions, went to the polls. By these elections once in every five years we consult the wishes of the people and incidentally educate them. History records and contemporary events confirm that when we push people too far, they will fight back with a raw courage born of desperation, even without weapons, leadership or organization, with no strength, except their willingness to die. We may try by propaganda to conceal or gloss over the facts but they will not disappear. We cannot with impunity crush the wishes of a people, cannot trample on their dreams.

Political democracy is an instrument for achieving social and economic changes. Economic democracy assumes the right of every individual to an adequate share in the ownership and production of common wealth. If we give every individual education and economic opportunity, his social status will be substantially raised. Law must not make any distinction between man and woman, rich and poor, high and low.

The democratic approach is one which asks us in the international world to adopt the method of negotiation, discussion, conciliation and agreement. The period in which nations can live in their own shells is over. The United Nations Organization was devised for the purpose of settling international disputes without a resort to war. The United Nations Organization, however, suffers from serious defects. It is not universal. There are many nations, notably China, which are not members of the United Nations. It is our hope that soon all the nations of the world will be represented in it. It is because of the non-inclusion of some of the great Powers that discussions have to take place outside the auspices of the United Nations thus diminishing its value and prestige.

The second great deficiency is that it is employed by the great Powers for their own strategy. There are power groups in it. We hope that when all the peoples of the world are represented questions will be decided on their merits and not on cold-war strategy.

The third defect is that it has not devised a proper machinery for

effecting changes in the *status quo* by peaceful means. The great Powers who have already established interests are inclined to resist changes in the present order. They seem to have a superstitious faith in the protection of their own interests, in the sanctity of the existent order. But the idea that the *status quo* can be altered only by a resort to force should be abandoned. The days of colonialism are over. In many parts of the world problems call for urgent and speedy decisions.

The United Nations should adopt a more positive kind of internationalism, where nations, small and great, will be able to play an important part in international conduct. It is not for any one nation, however great, to police the world and interfere in the affairs of other nations. We must enlarge the framework of our international thinking.

The United Nations is the symbol and hope for a future world government. Sir Winston Churchill said recently: 'Without some form of world government there is no hope for the world.' Under Articles 43 to 45, member-States are obliged to make available to the Security Council armed forces, assistance and facilities. Under Article 47, there is a provision for the establishment of a Military Staff Committee. It is unfortunate that we have failed to give effect to these and other provisions. We are not even preparing world opinion for these essential changes. The United Nations must become something of the nature of a world organization, with an international police force, of a permanent character and not something confined to particular emergencies raised in an *ad hoc* manner. If it does not function properly, nations will lose faith in the organization itself. It must be a strong and effective world power whose authority cannot and shall not be challenged and if challenged, it should be able effectively and quickly to make its will prevail. Unless this change comes about, small nations will live in peril. We should create a true rule of law. International law must not be merely a series of conventions, but it must be enforceable as law. Either we have the rule of law or the anarchy of the jungle. Governments are still wedded to their national sovereignties and so the U. N. organization suffers from neglect and complacency. If the organization

is changed so as to realize its own aims, frightening individual action will not be taken by nations. Those who talk of war, and prepare men's minds for war are the enemies of mankind. We cannot establish an equilibrium of fear based on the development of inter-continental missiles. It is impossible to abolish nuclear bombs unless we abolish war itself. We must have a world authority which lays down the rules that all must obey and then will individual fears and jealousies disappear.

This, in short, is the philosophy underlying our democracy which is a vision or faith, a political arrangement, a social and economic technique and an international attitude and approach.

We are moving towards a single world, technologically speaking. Our thinking in these matters is becoming global, international. It does not recognize national boundaries. It is therefore essential that all those who are interested in these pursuits should evolve a common language universally acceptable and common standards usable everywhere. Every step which helps the exchange of information across the frontiers is a gain. The great advances recently effected by the locomotive, steamship, automobile, aeroplane, electrical power, have contributed to the bringing together of all human beings, to the spreading of ideas.

Perhaps when we talk about standards we may refer to certain standards which are necessary to make this world into a fellowship. All scientific advances reveal to us reason incarnate in existence though in its depths it may be inaccessible to us. We do not recognize this mystery and lapse into darkness. Why do human beings stray so far from all ideal values and abase themselves so much in their thinking and acting? Instead of using the great products of technology for human benefit why have they become slaves of technology, of mechanics? There is nothing wrong about technology. Signs of decadence do not originate from the machines. They are to be sought in the human soul. It is there that a change of direction is needed. We seem to have lost, at any rate when we work as members belonging to groups, national groups especially, a sense of values, a sense of the sacred. Decent human beings behave as a result in an immoral way. 'Moral man and immoral society'—that is our

problem. The crisis confounding modern man in this period is the most profound in human history. When we explore the nature of the crisis and seek ways to enrich life and sustain it in spite of the crisis, we find that there is need for growth in human creatures. I hope in the attempts you make to bring the peoples nearer one another by technological developments you will also insist on the adoption of right standards of behaviour.

I hope that your deliberations will go on satisfactorily yielding fruitful results for application both in this country and in the world. I wish you well.

A WELCOME PROSPECT

WE live in a crucial period of human history. The decisions we make now will determine the future of humanity. We have made such great advances in science and technology that for the first time in our history it is possible for us to provide food and shelter for all.

What stands in the way is the nature of man which is accustomed to outmoded nationalist and militarist dogmas. These require to be changed. We are not the permanent possessors of this planet: we are its temporary tenants. Our tenure is brief. It may last long if we disarm ourselves. So long as nuclear weapons exist the danger is there. It is, therefore, a welcome proposal which the Soviet Premier has made of disarmament by stages in a prescribed period. We wish him all success, for that is the only alternative to an annihilatory war.

If the resources we spend on the building of nuclear armaments are utilized for peaceful purposes, the disparities between the rich and the poor within nations and among nations can be removed. For effective control of disarmament we need international authorities and institutions. The rule of law among nations should

Message on Mr. Khrushchev's Disarmament Proposals before the U. N. General Assembly on 18 September, 1959

be achieved. There should be a high international authority to enforce decisions taken by international courts of justice. We must work as far as lies in our power for the concept of One World. It is in the line of human evolution. It is the will and passion of the universe. Let us co-operate with this impulse to the best of our power.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS

I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Second Asian Youth Hostels Conference.

I was somewhat surprised when I was asked to become the President of the Youth Hostels Association of India. When I agreed to do so, I thought Mrs Kabir thought that though I was not young in age, I was still youthful in spirit. That is a compliment which I appreciate.

It is in the capacity of the President of the Indian Branch that I am called upon to inaugurate this Second Asian Youth Hostels Conference and I do so with pleasure.

For a civilization, for the world to continue, we need youth. There is a story about the Vedic *Uṣas*—the Greek *Eos*—who fell in love with a mortal and begged the Olympian deities to confer immortality on her lover which they did. Time passed, he grew old, lost his health and vigour and wished for death. *Uṣas* realized that when she asked for immortality, she should have asked for eternal youth which is the condition of immortality. We can endure only if we are young.

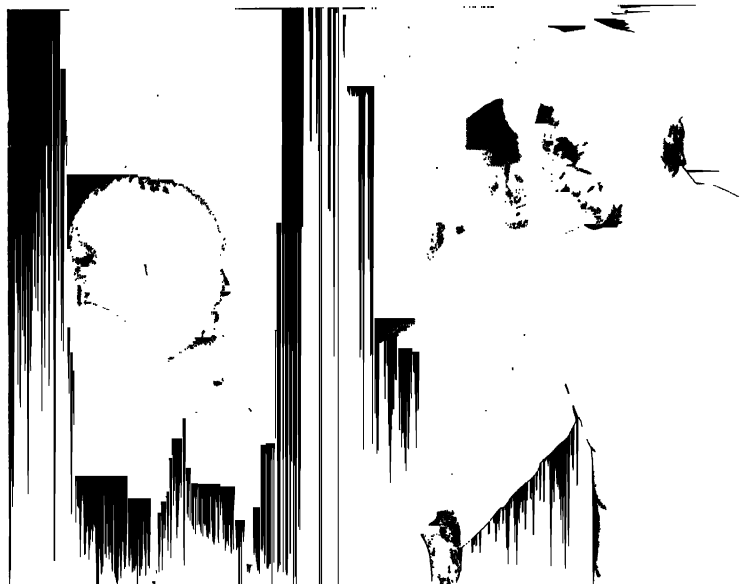
The spirit of youth is flexibility of mind, spirit of adventure, the eagerness to improve on the past. The Egyptian priest told Solomon, 'you Greeks, you are always young'. The Greeks are not oppressed by the past; they look forward to the future. They think for themselves and do not merely repeat the past. Many of us have no time to think for ourselves.

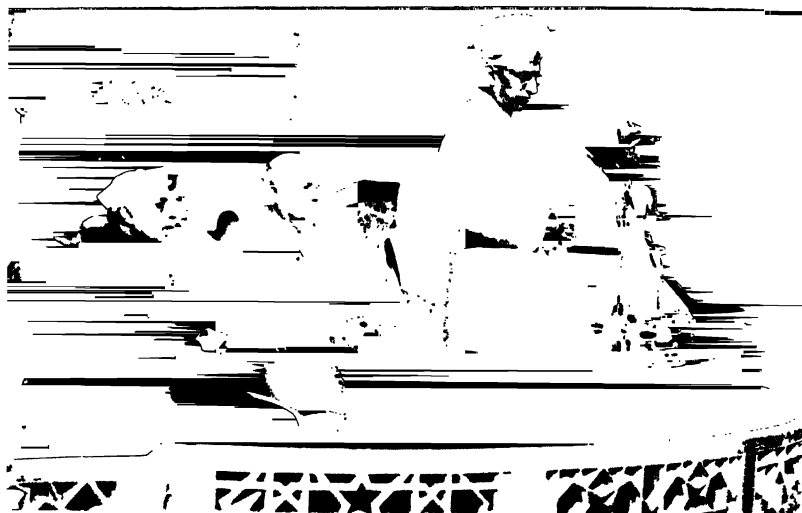
Speech on the inauguration of the Second Asian Youth Hostels Conference, New Delhi, 22 November, 1959



Inaugurating the Second Asian Youth Hostel Conference at the National Stadium, New Delhi 2 November, 1953

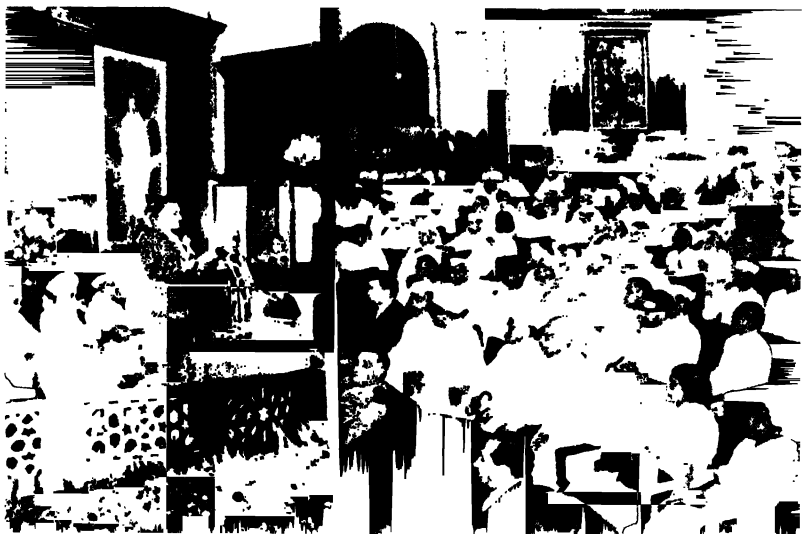
Welcoming President Eisenhower at Parliament House 10 December, 1953





Speaking on the occasion of Mr. Khrushchev's address to Members of Parliament
11 February 1960

Attending President Nasser's address to Members of Parliament 31 March 1960





Receiving credentials from the Ambissidor-designate of Brazil, at Rashtrapati Bhavan New Delhi 3 October, 1961

With His Excellency the Ambissidor of Jordan at Rashtrapati Bhavan New Delhi, 5 October 1961





Receiving credentials from the
Ambassador designate of the
Rumanian People's Republic
New Delhi 13 October 1961



Receiving the Peace Prize of
the West German Book Traders
Frankfurt 22 October, 1961

Today, the task set to our generation is finding a soul for the world which is becoming one, physically and economically. The developments of modern science and technology have brought together the different parts of the world. The same ideas are circulating over the globe. Interdependence is a growing phenomenon. If it is to become an enduring reality, we must have an understanding of other peoples' cultures, arts and philosophies.

Youth Hostels movement has for its objective the understanding of one's own country and other countries. We must explore our own country, our continent and then our world. We have had the tradition of pilgrimages by which we travel from one part of the country to another living in *dharmaśālās*. Today the whole world has become our country. We wish to foster understanding and goodwill among nations. In this age of division we wish to take the path of unity. It is not our aim to have a uniform world; we wish to have a united world. That is why your movement gives central guidance but provides for local autonomy. You avoid the extremes of tyranny and anarchy. You allow each country to grow according to its own genius and traditions.

Again, in admitting members you do not make any discrimination on grounds of race or religion, political ideology or nationality. We wish to attain peace through the brotherhood of all nations whatever be their colour, creed or race.

While there are international organizations, still we are far from the goal of One World. The obstacles are not the Soviet Union or the U.S.A., not capitalism or communism, but the unbridled passions of human nature. Peace can come not by political or economic changes but through a change in human nature. We live in an age of confusion and ferment. We are creating at the same time unity and division, hope and despair, faith and cynicism. It is these that require to be controlled. The discipline that helps us to do so is a spiritual one. In this age of doubt we have to remember the certainties of faith. We must recall humanity to those moral roots from which both order and freedom spring.

Asia has been the cradle of all religions. It has affirmed the reality

of man, his dignity and freedom. Whatever religion we may adopt, its essential feature is that man has a spark of spirit which is not a product of nature and all men should practise brotherly love. Man's soul should not be distorted by coercion, corruption or coarseness. The hatred of the lie, the abhorrence of slogans, the revolt against de-spiritualization and de-humanization should mark the authentically spiritual man.

The youth of the world should co-operate to bring about a new world. They must work for the intellectual endeavours which make for spiritual insight, spiritual depth, spiritual beauty. Then we prepare ourselves for the new world, the One World, and become world citizens, *viśva-mānuṣa* as the Ṛg Veda has it.

WELCOME TO PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

MR President, Your Excellencies, Members of Parliament and friends: It is my great pleasure to offer a very cordial welcome to our illustrious guest on behalf of the Parliament, the people and the Government of India. It is the first occasion when we have with us the President of the United States, a country to which we owe a great deal. In our struggle for freedom we had from the people and Government of the United States moral sympathy and support. Thereafter, in our effort to build our economy, we have received considerable material assistance. We in our country are trying to increase employment opportunities through the encouragement of agriculture, business and industry. We are attempting to do it within the framework of free institutions. Our Constitution has echoes of your Constitution with its spirit of freedom, the rule of law, equality of opportunity and the common man's right to liberty and happiness. The bond of shared ideals is stronger than that of military pacts.

You, Mr President, on more than one occasion have stated that the gap between the rich and the poor nations of the world is a

Parliament House, 10 December, 1959

serious obstacle to stability and peace. It is more dangerous than even ideological conflicts.

As a great general you feel from personal experience and knowledge of the modern weapons of war the utter unintelligence, stupidity, futility and waste of war as a method of settling international disputes. You are now using your great authority and wisdom to effect an understanding between nations and achieve disarmament.

Recent history may not encourage optimism: but it does not forbid hope. Hope is our duty and responsibility. It is that hope of winning a durable world peace that has impelled you to make this arduous journey, visit distant countries and tell the people of the world about America's interest in peace and human welfare.

The world is moving today in a new situation. We have to adjust ourselves to the new conditions which the nuclear age has imposed on us if we are not to retard human progress. We owe a duty to posterity that we do not destroy life and devastate the earth.

Nations like individuals are not immortal. They are not permanent possessors but temporary tenants of this earth and have no right to pollute earth, water and air. Understanding and co-operation among nations is the only way to survival and betterment. It is easy to deride what we do not understand, to reject what we do not recognize, but this is fatal. We should not lose hope. We should not lose patience. We should not despair. Human nature is not unchanging. Social and political institutions are not exempt from the law of change to which all things are subject. Given the resilience of human nature, the healing power of time, the mutability of social and political institutions and above all the grace of Providence, *īśvarānugraha*, humanity may yet be saved from the tragedy of nuclear annihilation and step into a new and better world. We greet you as the servant of that new and nobler world, assure you, on behalf of the people and the Government of India, our whole-hearted co-operation in the pursuit of peace, freedom and progress, and wish you godspeed in your efforts.

This large and eager audience is waiting to hear you, Mr President.

COMMON BONDS

I welcome the members of the Nepalese Parliamentary Delegation to our country and hope they will have an interesting and enjoyable time here. I happened to be in Kathmandu at the time of the Coronation of His Majesty King Mahendra. I felt quite at home there, thanks to the kindness of the Nepalese Government and the hospitality of our Ambassador, Shri Bhagwan Sahay.

Geography and history have brought our countries together. Geographically we are close neighbours. Historically we live more or less by the same traditions and ideals. Your students come here for education and our workers go to Nepal for research. We are living in a time of great changes. The pace of history is swift. It is merciless to the lazy, the weak and the irresolute. People will have to work under courageous and creative leadership and raise the standards of the ordinary men and women.

We have both adopted parliamentary institutions. Democracy is a habit of mind. It believes in the dignity of the individual. We are not like leaves or grass tossed about by the winds of history. On the way in which we use the democratic institutions our future depends. Freedom is not exhausted by the privilege of voting. The voters must be able to feel that they vote according to their conscience and are not dependent on the grace of any others. This is possible only if economic opportunities are provided for all. Freedom becomes frustration if we do not extend it to the social and economic spheres.

We have therefore bonds of geography and history and of political institutions. Our friendship is based on mutual respect and mutual interest. It is our hope and desire that we may continue to be friends in the future also.

AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

IT is a great pleasure to offer President Nasser a very cordial welcome on behalf of this Parliament, the people and the Government of India. Since he visited us in March 1955, he has faced many crises, triumphed over them and established himself firmly in the affections of his people.

He comes to us today as the President of the United Arab Republic. This Union of Egypt and Syria is a step in the direction of the growing unity of the Arab peoples. It is our hope and desire that the Arab nations will work together for mutual benefit.

In spite of our age, both our countries have the spirit of youth. Age or youth is not a matter of chronology. We are as young or as old as we feel. What we think about ourselves is what matters. We do not feel that we are fossilized nations. Our eyes are turned to the future. After the achievement of independence, there is a continuing revolution in our countries. We are both struggling hard to build up an economy where the fruits of the revolution in the way of better living standards, social security and justice will be available for the common people. We note with great satisfaction the economic and social revolution which is taking place in the United Arab Republic. The Aswan Dam is one instance of it.

President Nasser's visit to our country is another link in the growing solidarity between the Asian and African peoples. They are all faced by similar problems and are struggling to emancipate themselves from political thralldom, economic slavery, racial intolerance, feudal structure of society.

Afro-Asian solidarity is directed towards the building up of world solidarity. Simple people all over the world are seeking to find the truth on which a new and more secure civilization can be built. Humanity today is in one of those rare moods when it is changing its outlook and shifting its axis of conduct in national and international affairs. The compulsion of the past has lost its force. All struggle between the old and the new belongs to the realm of

Speech on the occasion of the Address of President Nasser to Members of Parliament, 31 March, 1960

tragedy. Only they are right who identify themselves with the future.

It is a contradiction to assume that we will achieve peace by the instruments of war. We hope that by forbearance, understanding and mutual influence we will recognize that humanity is indivisible and no people can be deprived of the essential human rights. We sympathize with all those who are struggling to emerge from their tyrannies. Any system which degrades millions of human beings and treats them as unclean cannot last. No people will willingly commit suicide. Peace will be precarious and the world situation explosive, so long as human decency and dignity are denied to many people as today in some parts of Africa. To be silent at this hour will be to crucify one's conscience.

We have faith that our two countries will work together for this great goal—one humanity above all nations—and co-operate with each other in the spheres of culture, trade and international affairs.

COMMON STANDARDS

I am happy to be here today and inaugurate this session of the International Electro-Technical Commission. On behalf of the Government and the people of India I extend to you all, especially the foreign delegates, a very warm welcome.

I feel a sense of inadequacy in addressing this gathering of experts engaged in the task of prescribing standards for various manufactures and products, formulating glossaries and trying to spell out an international language of technology and applied science.

At every stage of human life co-operation is essential. It is needed among individuals, groups of people and nations. We communicate with each other through signs and words. Confucius pointed out very early that clear definition of words is essential for progress in human thought. Much of the recent confusion in the United Nations which led to cynical and tempestuous discussions on several matters may

Speech at the inauguration of the twenty-fifth session of the International Electro-Technical Commission, New Delhi, 31 October, 1960

be traced to the ambiguous use of words, to the lack of standard meanings. What one calls 'cold war', another calls co-existence and a third competitive co-existence. Take the word 'socialism'. It is defined in different ways by the Soviet Union, the Peoples' Republics, the Scandinavian countries, Great Britain and India. Likewise, democracy may be basic, guided, controlled, parliamentary or popular, or 'licensed' as in Germany after 1945 which the four Occupation Powers interpreted variously. The weaker nations are afraid to join power blocs and adopt a policy of what is called neutrality. This may be positive neutrality, active neutrality, dynamic neutrality, non-alignment without slants or with slants. The United Nations recently passed a resolution unanimously demanding the ending of colonialism; but what is colonialism? The U.S.A. has one answer, the U.S.S.R. another, the United Kingdom a third, and the subject nations a fourth. If we are to derive any comfort from the utterances of our leaders, we must first define and determine the meanings of words; otherwise a psychological warfare will be conducted by bandying words. That is so far as communication through language is concerned.

The slow march of civilization from savagery to the present state is due to the development of technology which is the use of the forces of nature for the benefit of man. In these matters all people, to whatever nation they may belong, should speak the same language and think the same thoughts.

We had in our country a thriving pre-Aryan civilization called the Indus Valley civilization, somewhere about 3,000 B.C. They had a script, a system of weights and measures and a fair knowledge of metallurgy. Kalidasa, our great poet, describing the Himalayas said that they were the measuring rod of the world, *mānadaṇḍa*. Since then we have moved very far. So many precision instruments are now in use, such as the watch, the thermometer. Any lack of precision with regard to the new instruments which we devise may result in disastrous consequences. The composition of medical products, the voltage used, several other instruments for testing blood pressure and the cardiogram show the need for exactness and precision. They must be uniform all over the world.

Standards relating to structures and commodities, materials, practices, operations, all these will have to be carefully devised. We have introduced a uniform system of metric weights. In the matter of electrical technology and industry with which you are specially concerned, great improvements have been effected in recent times and many of the experts who are assembled here have contributed to these advances.

WELCOME TO MR KHRUSHCHEV

I have great pleasure in extending a very cordial welcome to you, Mr Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, on behalf of this Parliament and the people it represents. We had the honour of receiving you and listening to you in this Hall in November 1955, and we welcome you today as a courageous fighter for peace and co-existence.

The achievements of the Soviet Union in supersonic flights, splitting the atom and the science of rocketry have impressed the world. These great achievements carry great responsibilities. Humility should accompany strength. We were delighted to hear of your appeal to the United Nations Assembly last October for a phased multi-lateral disarmament with reliable inspection and control. This January you spoke to your Parliament about the need for disarmament. In this nuclear age, survival of man is bound up with general disarmament. The fate of nations is inseparably tied up. Your earnest and passionate appeal for the easing of international tensions and reduction of armaments has met with general approval. And we in this country are entirely in favour of the renunciation of force in the settlement of international disputes. What we need is not the will to power which impels us to dominate or die but the will to peace which helps us to live in freedom and friendship.

Speech on the occasion of the Address of Mr Khrushchev to Members of Parliament, 11 February, 1961

The economic well-being of all nations is an essential condition of a stable peace. No wonder, in the speech which you made on the 14th of last month to the Supreme Soviet you suggested the use of funds released by the reduction of armaments for the development of backward countries. Science in a world without wars is an inspiring thought. We can dredge seas, melt rocks, make deserts blossom and remove famine, misery and disease from the face of the earth.

We appreciate very much your substantial assistance to us in our industrial development. Economic exploitation, political subjection and racial discrimination are the root causes of war and they should be eliminated if we are to attain a warless world. In these objectives, we are at one with you.

You and the President of the United States have created an atmosphere of hope and if words are backed by deeds, this world may well become a better place. You will have a Summit Conference in May and we know that you will do all that is in your power to remove suspicions, restore confidence, foster fellowship and mutual understanding in which alone the problems of this tragic period can hope to find a solution. Your great novelist Turgenev remarked that 'a man is capable of understanding anything, how the ether vibrates and what's going on in the sun, but how any other man can blow his nose differently from him—that he's incapable of understanding'. We must accept our humanity, our variable humanity. The great Powers should learn to live as friends even though they may not agree on all points. You, Mr Prime Minister, with your daring, your imagination, your humanity and your love of peace, I dare say, will help to ease the tensions and stop the lethal race to annihilation. In the attempts to promote social welfare and individual freedom and dignity and above all peace, may we work together in friendly co-operation which will grow stronger in years to come and endeavour to build a secure civilization in which individuals and nations can breathe freely and live decently.

MUTUAL CO-OPERATION

I am happy to be here today and say a few words. I hope you have had a pleasant time and your discussions and contacts have led to a better understanding. Our peoples are not strangers to one another. They are neighbours today and should behave like good neighbours and good friends.

Our two countries may have differences in politics and economics but in cultural matters we have had similar backgrounds. Conferences like this help to strengthen cultural relations. They imperceptibly perhaps promote good feeling and comradeship.

Culture comprehends the varied expressions of the human spirit. Art and literature, philosophy and religion, science and technology, these may appear to be conflicting but on sober second thoughts we will see that the conflicts are only apparent and not real. A little science may take us away from religion but a little more science takes us back to it. Many of the great scientists of the world even today have faith in the ultimate mystery which underlies the cosmic process. It has been perpetually unfolding itself and revealing greater values. Knowledge has no limit; mystery has no end.

Our basic needs and ultimate aspirations are the same. Our countries are suffering from backwardness and under-development. We need tremendous advances in science and technology; and in achieving improvements in the standards of our peoples there is a possibility for co-operation.

The question is often raised whether scientific and technological development may not adversely affect the framework of our society. These developments effect changes in the environment. They may procure the physical and economic betterment of our fellow men but they are powerless to effect the cure of the fundamental ills of human nature: suspicions, jealousies, misunderstandings. It is, therefore, necessary that along with our effort to raise material conditions we should make a determined effort to improve human relationships. It is here that art and literature have a special place. They tend to foster a sense of fellowship.

The artist, whether literary or otherwise, must have intensity of vision, of experience; otherwise he is not a true artist. Those who work with their senses are mere labourers; those who work with their senses and minds are craftsmen; those who work with their senses, minds and hearts, with their whole being, are artists.

If we wish to attain that high level of creativity, we must be able to penetrate into our own being. Body, mind and intellect are the instruments which the spirit in us uses. We have bodies but we are not bodies. If one says he is tired, he is irritated, he is content, it means that he experiences the states of fatigue, irritation and contentment. We are not our thoughts and if we are lost in what happens to us, if we are attracted, distracted, dispersed by countless emotions, desires and thoughts, we do not realize that our reality is the self-conscious spirit which is capable of mastering, directing, using, all our physical and psychological processes. It is the self, the subject in us which gives us freedom—*svatantraḥ kartā*. It is this subjectivity that holds the hope for the future. We are not bound by the past, we are not passive registers of inherited doctrines. If we become that, the world will become lifeless and loveless. Man should not be reduced to insignificance by the immensity of the world. There is a side of man which scientific measurement does not touch: the solitary as distinct from the social side. A great metaphysician, A. N. Whitehead, whose hundredth birth anniversary falls this year has said 'religion is what a man does with his solitariness'. It is not merely religion; art and literature, philosophy and scientific invention, they are all the results of what a man does with his solitariness.

Unfortunately, our art and literature are intellectual and not creative. They are lacking in soul. They build mental prisons. Children born healthy, friendly, are turned into the semblances of our own sick substance. We infect others with our illness, make them as corrupt as ourselves. We must seek to understand what is natural, spontaneous, uncorrupt, sound, in harmony with itself and other objects and people.

It is the purpose of literature to effect togetherness—*sahita*, *sāhitya*. It rouses the tenderness that is in the hearts of men. We

should make an effort to shake off the discordant inhibitions of the dead past and give to our people a vision of a world with a vital forward look. A true artist is essentially an enemy of conventions. He blazes new paths, upholds new causes, discovers new truths and sets forth new ideals.

We are now in the process of creating a new society, a new world. Whether we succeed in building it or not depends on us. Let us pledge ourselves to reshaping our society and our nation and our relations with other peoples. I hope the artists who have assembled here will realize that the future is in co-operation between our two countries and not in conflict.

INDIA AND AMERICA

WE are very happy to have with us the Vice-President of the United States and our only regret is that his stay will be very short, in fact less than two days. But I hope in this brief period he has seen something of the people and the projects which we have for developing their standards of living.

We are now striving to free our people from the afflictions of poverty, disease and ignorance. We believe that many of our troubles, which sometimes take ugly forms, are traceable ultimately to our economic backwardness. We are struggling to build an equitable social order which safeguards the dignity of the individual and provides economic opportunity for all. It is a matter of great satisfaction to us that the President and the Government of the United States are taking a very keen interest in our economic growth.

We are now trying to reach the stars and fly into outer space. These provide great opportunities as well as great dangers. We may grow in fellowship or end civilization. It is now a race between growth in human sympathy and disaster. We require wisdom, self-restraint and softening of human pride. We are all fallible,

Speech at Banquet in honour of Mr Lyndon B. Johnson, Vice-President of the U.S.A., at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 19 May, 1961

limited human beings, prone to pride, liable to corruption and error. Our prejudices in favour of conventional political procedures and military routines are so strongly entrenched that it requires an effort for us to abandon our present course which seems to be still in the groove of pre-nuclear politics. Nationalism is not enough. By the exercise of will and imagination we can change the current of events. Let us in all humility work together for a better world, a world of understanding and economic sufficiency for all people, for peace and goodwill.

May I request you to convey to your President, the Government and the people our cordial greetings and good wishes and assure them of our whole-hearted co-operation in the difficult task of achieving peace and friendship among nations? It is our hope that your visit will strengthen the friendly relations between our two countries.

INDIA AND JAPAN

MR Ambassador: I am happy to welcome you as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Japan to our country. I feel certain that your term of office will further strengthen the economic and cultural ties which bind our two countries. Your predecessor, Dr Shiroshi Nasu, in his term of office helped to promote friendly relations between our two countries.

We had the pleasure of welcoming last year the Crown Prince and Princess of Japan who made themselves very popular with our people. Our President, Prime Minister and myself and many others have had the honour of visiting your country in recent years and we are all greatly impressed by the faith of your people in their future and the earnestness, devotion and discipline with which they are rebuilding their social structure and economy which were badly shattered by the last war.

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Japan, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 22 August, 1961

We appreciate the interest your Government are taking in our economic development and the co-operation you are offering in the furtherance of our Third Plan.

We have had in the past great affinities of thought and aspiration and today both our countries are pledged to the ideals of freedom and democracy. With so much in common, we should be able to co-operate in many fields.

You refer to our interest in international affairs. We live in a time of great danger. Tensions are mounting, nuclear arms are increasing and the arms race is extending. Men's minds are getting worked up to the risk of a thermo-nuclear war. History tells us that civilizations are built by tenderness, compassion, endurance and understanding. They are destroyed by greed, passion, pride and anger. This is a time for forbearance and restraint. We must meet abuse by courtesy, intransigence by understanding, suspicion by trust. Both our peoples revere the great master Buddha who taught us to overcome anger by gentleness, evil by good, and hatred by love. Let us work together in that spirit for friendship among nations.

We assure you, Mr Ambassador, of our full co-operation in your efforts to strengthen our close and intimate relations.

INDIA AND BRAZIL

MR Ambassador: We are very happy to welcome you as the Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of Brazil in this country. We note the recall of your predecessor.

Our two countries have large areas and increasing populations and we are facing problems of a similar nature which we hope to overcome by our natural resources and increased technological skill. Though we established diplomatic relations with your country soon after we attained freedom, the vast distance that separates us makes it difficult for our two peoples to understand each other. We

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Brazil, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 3 October, 1961

should break down this wall of ignorance and bring our peoples together in closer understanding and friendship. I had the honour of visiting your country in 1954 and was greatly struck by the friendliness of your people and the utter absence of race consciousness among them.

I appreciate your sentiments about our Government and its leaders. Good understanding is essential for fostering world unity. Both our nations are concerned about the establishment of peace which means not merely the absence of war but the promotion of good understanding. Human solidarity is not a mere dream of the prophets, it is an imperative necessity of our times. We have to achieve peace, if not by moral insight at least by the sheer instinct for self-preservation and survival, if we wish to live and if we wish those for whom we care to live. It is our duty in this moment of grave danger to do all that lies in our power to bring reason and humanity into human relations.

Yesterday we celebrated the 92nd birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi who gave to our country a certain orientation in national and international spheres. He put before us certain ideals which we strive to follow to the best of our ability.

To possess nuclear power does not necessarily confer moral superiority. Simply because we do not have great military might in the modern context, it does not mean that we cannot contribute to the achievement of peace. We must try our best to prevent the outbreak of hostilities or upheavals.

It is a matter of satisfaction for us that your people and your Government appreciate the little work that we are doing. I hope your term of office will help to build close commercial and cultural relations between our two countries. We wish you well as the Ambassador of Brazil in this country.

INDIA AND JORDAN

M^R Ambassador: We are very happy to welcome you as the first Ambassador of Jordan to our country. I dare say your term of office will help to strengthen the friendly relations between our two countries. We have had contacts for many centuries. Your country has produced great saints and seers who have enriched your tradition.

You have certain great advantages for achieving consolidation and progress. You have a compact area and a single language. You possess natural resources in plenty. You believe in democratic institutions, and that the State exists for the people and not the people for the State. With concerted and co-operative effort you will be able to make your State a prosperous one.

In recent years there has not been a dull moment in West Asia and all those who belong to it have to remain vigilant and wakeful.

We work with you in several international organizations and it is possible for us to co-operate in building our two countries on the basis of certain values which are neither eastern nor western, but universal. With goodwill we may be able to serve each other. We convey through you to your Government and people the best wishes of our Government and people. I wish you a happy term of office.

GREETINGS TO PAKISTAN

M^R High Commissioner: I extend to you a very hearty welcome and wish you success in your new assignment as High Commissioner of Pakistan in our country.

I would like you to convey to your Government and people our greetings and best wishes for their prosperity.

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Jordan, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 5 October, 1961

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of Mr Aga Hilaly, High Commissioner of Pakistan, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 9 October, 1961

Nothing will please us more than to have a friendly, prosperous and progressive Pakistan.

You have spoken of our historical and geographical ties. You have mentioned also the economic problems. I do not think any two peoples in the world are more closely bound up than we are.

We have now undertaken the great task of raising the standards of our people. Under-development is a common feature of both our countries and we have to struggle to tackle that problem and raise the condition of the people in both our countries.

History, geography and common objectives bind us together. Human relations are complex and complicated. You have referred to some of them in your speech. May I tell you that what is essential for solving all these disputes is the building up of mutual confidence and trust? It is a difficult task, but if only we develop mutual confidence, all the problems, major and minor, to which you have referred, will be solved easily. In this task you and we should not lose patience with ourselves.

You have referred to the international situation and Asian solidarity. If we settle our mutual problems, if we get together, that itself will be a great contribution to Asian solidarity and international amity. I have no doubt that in this attempt of yours, you will get the whole-hearted co-operation of our Government and our people.

May I request you to convey to your President my personal greetings and good wishes?

AN EXAMPLE OF REBUILDING

MR President, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen: We are very happy to have with us the President of the Republic of Poland to whom we extend a hearty welcome on behalf of the Government and people of this country and on my own.

Speech at Banquet in honour of Mr Aleksander Zawadzki, President of the Council of State of the Polish Republic, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 11 October, 1961

I have very pleasant memories of my visit to Poland some years ago and our Prime Minister also enjoyed your hospitality. We both found our visits extremely useful. We hope that, though your visit here is brief, you will see something of what we are attempting to do.

Vast areas of your country were devastated in the last war and millions of your people lost their lives. Yet without being cowed down by these misfortunes, you have again rebuilt your country with great determination, enterprise and skill. We wish you success in this great attempt.

The generation through which we are living has brought mankind to a crossing of the ways unprecedented in history. We have peace of a kind, 'nervous peace'. We do not feel a sense of security. Our greatest enemy today is not disease or famine, not even the nuclear weapons, but it is our own nature. The great Powers have again resumed nuclear tests and we aim at a banning of these tests and complete disarmament. Nuclear weapons in war may completely destroy civilization and in peace inflict grievous and lasting harm on the human race. While in war we may have complete annihilation, in peace we may have slow decay.

Great tragedies have been fascinating us by their very horror. Numbed by the magnitude of the possible catastrophe we face we do not make up our minds but simply drift. We justify our inaction by saying to ourselves: this is how men are, this is how they have always been, nor can they ever be any different. This counsel of despair makes the future dark and is not justified. The sense of our impotence is an illusion. If it had been true, we should still be living in prehistoric times, wearing skins and living in caves. Strength of heart, intelligence and courage are enough to stop what is seemingly inevitable. We have resisted fatality and won frequently the battle for freedom. History is not static. It is creative. Time is a great innovator. Our decisions can illumine or darken history. It depends on us.

Co-existence means respect for other nations. We should not think that we are the ordained leaders of mankind, the educators of the human race. Uncompromising attitudes are unhelpful.

We seem to suffer from a sense of satisfied virtue. We must overcome the temptation of hatred. I have no doubt a new fabric of humanity is being woven and the forces of peace and freedom will prevail.

We hope that our two countries will co-operate and help to improve human relations. I assure you, Mr President, that in the work for international peace and friendship you can count on our full co-operation and support.

I request you all to raise your glasses to the health of His Excellency the President of Poland.

INDIA AND RUMANIA

MR Ambassador: I have great pleasure in extending to you a hearty welcome to our country as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Rumanian People's Republic. I note that you have given us letters of recall of your predecessor.

I am grateful to the President of the State Council of the Rumanian People's Republic and of the Rumanian people for their good wishes. When I was in your country a few years back I noticed that your people were engaged in the economic and cultural reconstruction of your country, a task which is engaging our attention also.

It is kind of you to say that you appreciate our foreign policy. When we work for peace we must also work for achieving the conditions which make for peace. The armaments race does not help us. We should liquidate, as you say, the remnants of colonialism. We also believe in complete, comprehensive and controlled disarmament. We must produce the right climate for the achievement of this much desired goal.

There is already much co-operation between our two peoples and I hope that your term of office will be marked by a further

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of the People's Republic of Rumania, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 13 October, 1961

is changed so as to realize its own aims, frightening individual action will not be taken by nations. Those who talk of war, and prepare men's minds for war are the enemies of mankind. We cannot establish an equilibrium of fear based on the development of inter-continental missiles. It is impossible to abolish nuclear bombs unless we abolish war itself. We must have a world authority which lays down the rules that all must obey and then will individual fears and jealousies disappear.

This, in short, is the philosophy underlying our democracy which is a vision or faith, a political arrangement, a social and economic technique and an international attitude and approach.

We are moving towards a single world, technologically speaking. Our thinking in these matters is becoming global, international. It does not recognize national boundaries. It is therefore essential that all those who are interested in these pursuits should evolve a common language universally acceptable and common standards usable everywhere. Every step which helps the exchange of information across the frontiers is a gain. The great advances recently effected by the locomotive, steamship, automobile, aeroplane, electrical power, have contributed to the bringing together of all human beings, to the spreading of ideas.

Perhaps when we talk about standards we may refer to certain standards which are necessary to make this world into a fellowship. All scientific advances reveal to us reason incarnate in existence though in its depths it may be inaccessible to us. We do not recognize this mystery and lapse into darkness. Why do human beings stray so far from all ideal values and abase themselves so much in their thinking and acting? Instead of using the great products of technology for human benefit why have they become slaves of technology, of mechanics? There is nothing wrong about technology. Signs of decadence do not originate from the machines. They are to be sought in the human soul. It is there that a change of direction is needed. We seem to have lost, at any rate when we work as members belonging to groups, national groups especially, a sense of values, a sense of the sacred. Decent human beings behave as a result in an immoral way. 'Moral man and immoral society'—that is our

actions, are risking the future of humanity. It is our hope that our countries will work to check the drift to destruction and build a world which will free individuals from fear and help them to grow in joy, wisdom and beauty.

TOWARDS WORLD FELLOWSHIP

MR President, Lord Mayor, Mr President of the German Publishers Association, Professor Dr Ernst Benz, distinguished guests and friends: I am grateful to the Director and Members of the Governing Body of the German Book Trade for their kind thought in selecting me for the Peace Award of 1961. It is a real distinction to be counted among those who have worked through their life and writings for the cause of peace and I greatly appreciate it. If my writings and other work have succeeded in giving the world anything worthwhile, it is perhaps due to my deep-seated faith in human nature and the free spirit of man. This award to one who does not belong to the traditional civilization of Europe and America illustrates its international character. It is a symbol of the growing world community.

Professor Dr Ernst Benz has been extremely generous in his appreciation of my work. He has referred to the outstanding contributions which German Indologists, German researchers and German publishers have made to the study of Indian thought. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to them. As one who has spent a life-time in the study of philosophy and religion, I am sensitive to the metaphysical subtleties and mystical sublimities of your classical thinkers and contemplative seers.

Professor Benz referred to a statement I made in 1947 in Delhi and I may say that these words apply to the present condition of Germany. The body politic may not be there but the body historic, the body cultural, lives on, no matter how absent-minded and

Address on receiving the Peace Prize of the West German Book Traders, Frankfurt, 22 October, 1961

divided against itself and unaware of its own existence. The path to the goal may be long and arduous; it may be full of toil and suffering, but it will be reached eventually.

At a time when new ways of organizing human life are beginning to assert themselves, writers who feel an obligation to human welfare are called upon to grasp constructively the new ideals and apply themselves with enthusiasm and devotion to their presentation.

This building has been the symbol of German liberal aspirations since the first United Parliament was held here in 1848. It is a reminder to us that in this grave hour of human history, we should realize the need for moral and spiritual values.

At the material level the conditions under which we live have altered more radically within a few decades than over many centuries in the past. The extent and rapidity of these changes involve a radical break with previous conditions. The rapid unification of the world that is now taking place through modern methods of transport and communication is the most effective and far-reaching known to us so far. Leaders of civilizations and prophets of religions dreamed of a single world but their ideal was not capable of accomplishment in their days. Today all sections of the human race are in contact with one another. If we are to live in peace, we cannot stop short of further unification.

The matter has become urgent since we are making military weapons of nuclear power. Any nuclear war can only result in a wild orgy of destruction. We have to choose between the two alternatives of destroying ourselves and learning to live as members of a single family.

If the human race is to survive, we have to subordinate national pride to international feeling. A nation has its place within an international order but if it puts its interests above those of the human community, it becomes dangerous. History is full of conflicts: Persia and Greece, Carthage and Rome, Christendom and Islam, the Axis and the Allied Powers. Today we have strained relations between the great groups led by the United States and the Soviet Union. It is essential that these should settle down not in passive, armed co-existence but in active co-operation so as to develop a

human society based on a community of ideals and purposes. Persuasion and co-operation have become moral imperatives.

If the present situation is not to end in disaster, we must strive to build a world far better than any that has existed before. It rests with us to choose. We should not believe that everything is determined by the mere physical chain of events. If we repudiate human freedom and believe that we are carried down the stream of events and that the current will sweep us into disaster, it will happen and we will be responsible for it. If we look at the follies, crimes and the massacres of history, we will find that they happened because people suppressed the voice of their conscience, took shelter under the law of the State and surrendered their freedom to the care of the crowd. Some leaders of religions and nations anaesthetized the public mind and controlled it by mass propaganda, brain-washing, etc., until their followers ceased to feel responsible for their actions. They became bundles of prejudices and enmities, narrow loyalties and mental confusion. This sophisticated shrugging off of human responsibility is brought out neatly in the epigram: 'It wasn't the fault of Adam; it wasn't the fault of Eve; it wasn't the fault of the serpent; it was the fault of the apple.'

Once again as so often before in history, in times of great danger, ways of escape open up. Perhaps slowly, gradually, imperceptibly, in spite of everything the spiritual regeneration of man is setting in. Thinking men suffer from an ache of disorder, from an oppressing burden of guilt. They feel humiliated at a deep level. They have begun to doubt themselves and their worth. When they realize that we human beings, claiming to be civilized, practised inconceivable cruelties in the last war and even now we are doing so in some parts of the world, their confidence is shaken. They feel that their hopes are shattered and their dreams dishonoured. They are concerned lest our leaders go mad again and ruin us through the misuse of scientific power. They are angry with the apparent cynicism, hypocrisy and pointlessness of a generation with which they are out of sympathy. They protest against the vileness and vulgarity of life. However, they live in hope. To be dissatisfied with things as they are, to

wish for something better than the actual is a fundamental human urge. The greatest gift of life is the dream of a higher life.

Your great thinkers understand the contemporary situation, the mental danger of the human person who becomes a cog in the social machine and thus loses his substance, his liberty, his self. They try to preserve his freedom, his authentic being. There is a mysterious layer in the self which is not touched by external processes, an element which enables us to withstand torture and resist pressure. Man is not a mere slot-machine with predictable responses to outer stimuli. He has a dimension of depth. He lives on the surface when he is satisfied with sense-enjoyments. There is a purer joy which stands enthroned in the inmost depths of his being, which he realizes in all its majesty when he renounces his selfish cravings and outward possessions, a joy that even death cannot disturb.

We are making history today. By the choice we make, we can change the current of events. We can do this only if we safeguard the individual conscience. We must divest the nation-state of the aura of the absolute, and restore the individual conscience to its central place. We must cease to think of people of other nations as aliens or enemies but treat them as human beings, our own kindred. We must find inspiration in a return to the principles of individual freedom and world fellowship.

This is not a time for anger but for humility, for sorrow, for effort, for renewal.

The discipline which helps us to become masters of ourselves is religion which, however, is now at a low ebb. Its successes are on the surface but the mass of people in many lands are estranged from its real spirit. There is a sharp distinction between philosophical understanding and liberation from the tyranny of desires. An orthodox Christian when asked what he thought would happen to him when he died, replied: 'I suppose I shall enter into a state of eternal bliss but I wish you would not talk about such depressing things.' Intellectual apprehension is different from emotional realization. In the depths of his nature, man craves for an awakening to a fuller consciousness of Reality in which he lives and moves.

Above the sorrows, perplexities and frustrations besetting man in the world shines the spiritual power, which, as in all things created, dwells in the soul of man. This Presence lights his way to the true life. The object of all faiths is to awaken the individual to the awareness of the kingdom of Light within him. To see the Light, to be born again in the spirit, is the high calling to which we are all called. When religion is understood as inward change, self-purification, its triumphs will be distinctive. It will shine with a new radiance and become charged with a new power. If we mean by religion personal encounter with the Supreme, we will be humble about describing the nature of the Real. In the spirit of the Upanishads and the Buddha, Goethe has this in his *Faust*—‘With the people and especially with the clergy, who have Him daily upon their tongue, God becomes a phrase, a mere name which they utter without any accompanying idea. But if they were penetrated with His greatness, they would rather be dumb, for very reverence would not dare to name Him.’ Every religion has its priests, philosophers and prophets. A religion lives through its geniuses, the saints, the seers and the prophets. May I quote William Penn—‘The humble, meek, merciful, just, pious and devout souls are everywhere of one religion and when death has taken off the mask they will know one another, though the diverse liveries they wear here make them diverse.’

Professor Benz has traced the encounter of religions in the course of history. The West has been long aware of the three great religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In the nineteenth century, knowledge of Hinduism, Buddhism and other Asian religions increased and had an impact on the religious thought of the West. He referred to Schopenhauer’s leadership in this matter. Today as never before Christian and non-Christian religions are acting and reacting on each other. Let me make it clear that I do not believe in the emergence of a ‘world faith’, of an eclectic or syncretistic character which will take in the valuable elements of all religions. Any attempt to have a religion which will be no religion in particular is as untenable as an attempt to speak without speaking any particular language. We recognize the different religions but discern

the unity underlying them. We do not wish to flatten out diversity or impose uniformity. Difference does not mean division nor does diversity mean discord. Each religion while maintaining its individuality will learn to appreciate the values of others. We do not believe in any favoured races or chosen people or exclusive truths. Our seers extended hospitality to all faiths. The different faiths are like different fingers of the loving hand of the Supreme extended to all, offering completeness of being to all.

Next month the World Council of Churches is having its third assembly in New Delhi. The members of different non-Roman Christian denominations are striving to understand and co-operate with one another. The visit of Dr Fisher when he was the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Vatican is a sign of the times, an expression of the yearning for unity. The same approach may be adopted towards non-Christian religions. William Penn said: 'It were better to be of no church than to be bitter for any.' By a living communication of mind and heart, by a shared sense of the ultimate mystery of Godhead we will develop a spiritual attitude, an intellectual temper which discourages pride of race or insolence of religion. It is our hope that religions will develop not mere passive co-existence but active co-operation, not through force or compromise, but by self-criticism and self-conquest.

An ancient Upaniṣadic text says: 'He who is one, who is above all colour distinctions, who dispenses the inherent needs of men of all colours, who comprehends all things from their beginning to the end, let Him unite us to one another with wisdom which makes for goodness.'

*ya eko'varṇo bahudhā śakti-yogād varṇān anekān
nīhitārtho dadhāti
vicaiti cā'nte viśvam ādau sa devah sa no buddhyā
śubhayā samyunaktu.*¹

BROADCAST ADDRESS ON UNITED NATIONS DAY

I am happy to say a few words on this United Nations Day. We in this country believe in its fundamental principles, though we are not unaware of the weaknesses of the organization. Events in the Congo where we lost a great international civil servant and statesman, Mr Dag Hammarskjöld, indicate how distant still is the goal. But we trust in the power of the human spirit.

The cause it has to defend includes the whole of mankind and the rights of all nations to develop their possibilities and fulfil their aspirations without being restricted by others. The way to human society is through national societies. In this age we can preserve our nation only if we are open to a universal perspective. It is clear that we should learn to get on with the other nations if we are to survive. We must get rid of our unhappy past which is a great obstacle to the future. If we persist in our struggles for political power and economic superiority, the civilization which we have slowly and laboriously built up across the centuries cannot avoid disastrous dissolution. The dangers ahead of us are great and time is running short.

The family of nations should wake up to the sheer compulsion of its unity. The world is destined to be drawn together in a covenant of law and peace. This is not a mere dream of the prophets but a rational necessity recognized by the leaders of nations. The United Nations has to become the conscience and imagination of mankind. The United Nations and its allied organizations have been working slowly and steadily for the development of human solidarity. We wish the United Nations well in the future.

INDIA AND LEBANON

MR Ambassador: It gives me great pleasure to welcome you as the first Ambassador of Lebanon to this country.

We are happy to note that in spite of differences in size and population we share the same ideals of human dignity, freedom and the democratic way of life. You claim a long past as we do and both our nations are attempting to modernize ourselves within the framework of democratic ideals. So long as we adhere to them our future will be bright. The way in which you have worked out an adjustment in regard to the different religious groups in your country is commendable.

I remember my visit to your capital on the occasion of the meeting of the General Conference of UNESCO and I found that you were making great progress. In the United Nations and allied organizations we are working together and it is our hope that we will do our utmost for the achievement of peace in a world which is causing concern and apprehension to many of us. Our hopes and fears, our anxieties and aspirations centre round what will happen in these fateful years. Are we to be destroyers or builders? Will the great Powers act with a sense of responsibility and human feeling or by their mad acts wreck the world? We should replace the present world of armed anarchy by one of international order where instruments of coercion to be used against anti-social elements are vested in an international authority.

I may assure you, Mr Ambassador, of all assistance from our side in promoting friendship between our two nations.

May I request you to convey to your President and the people of Lebanon our greetings and good wishes for their progress and prosperity.

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Lebanon, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 31 October, 1961

INDIA AND BELGIUM

M^R Ambassador : We welcome you most cordially as the Ambassador of Belgium to India.

You are rightly stressing that our two countries have respect for the freedom of other nations. We are naturally distressed when powerful nations suppress, for political domination or economic advantage, the aspirations of other people for freedom. This ideal of respect for other people is the basis for enduring peace. It is a matter of satisfaction for us to note that you are interested in our economic progress. We are making efforts to raise the standards of our people and it is gratifying to us to feel that your country is in sympathy with our endeavours. I am glad that you are interested in a deeper and more intensive study of Indian thought and culture.

We shall be happy to co-operate with you in your effort to promote understanding and friendship between our two nations. May I request you to convey to your King, the Government and people our greetings and good wishes for their happy future?

INDIA AND IRAN

M^R Ambassador: I am happy to welcome you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of your country.

You are a great nation with a long history. Our two peoples are bound together by racial affinities and spiritual bonds. Your nation produced Zoroaster and has become the home of mystic religion. It is only natural, therefore, that our two peoples should be attracted to each other.

You refer to the contrast between the India you saw 25 years ago and the present conditions. In that period we achieved our

Speech on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Belgium, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 24 November, 1961

Speech on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Iran at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 2 December, 1961

political freedom and used that freedom to the best of our ability to develop our natural resources and promote our economy.

We are both engaged in the same task of social and economic reconstruction.

I am certain that our historic, cultural and spiritual ties will increase in the years to come and you may be sure that we will do everything in our power to help you to foster friendly co-operation between our two countries.

We have vivid recollections of His Imperial Majesty's visit to India a few years ago.

We are grateful to His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran for his good wishes to us, and may I request you to convey to him and the Government and the people of Iran the greetings and good wishes of the Government and the people of India, and my personal regards?

CULTURAL EXCHANGES

Let me extend Mr President, our hearty welcome to you, Senora Frondizi and members of your party on behalf of the people and Government of India. This is the first time that the Head of a State from Latin America visits our country. Argentina is the second largest State in Latin America. Most of the States were released from colonial domination and are now struggling to develop their economy. In this matter they are like us.

I had an opportunity of visiting Argentina in 1954 and I still remember the impression which the city Buenos Aires made on me. It is verily a city of good airs.

Though our two countries are separated by long distance, we hold your people and your country in high esteem. We have had relations with you in the cultural and economic fields during the last two years. An Indian ballet troupe performed in Argentina and

Speech of welcome at Banquet in honour of President Frondizi of Argentina, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 4 December, 1961

you also had an exhibition of Indian contemporary paintings and miniatures. You had also the Tagore birth centenary celebrations in Argentina. As a matter of fact Tagore wrote *Purabi* at a place near Buenos Aires, the residence of Victoria Ocampo. The book is dedicated to *Vijaya*, the Sanskrit word for 'Victory'.

A Professor of Aligarh University went there on a contract appointment as Professor of Chemistry and a few months ago he was elected Chancellor of a university in South Argentina.

The President himself read Gandhi's autobiography in one of his terms in prison. Many of our leaders also did some reading while they had enforced rest.

This year under the reciprocal scholarship scheme, two scholarships are offered to Argentine nationals and it is our hope that our cultural exchanges, even though they may be very limited now, will expand in the years to come and serve to promote greater understanding between our two countries.

We know that you are interested in promoting trade relations with us. We hope that your visit will improve the present position considerably.

It is a pleasure to know that your foreign policy is governed by the three principles of international co-existence: equality of all States before the law, non-intervention in other people's affairs and self-determination of all peoples. In the United Nations there are several points on which we agree such as opposition to colonialism and racial discrimination and banning of nuclear tests. Latin America is remarkably free from race prejudice. There are members of different races among the twenty million people of Argentina and there is perfect racial harmony amongst them.

The world today is in a perilous condition when the great Powers, who possess nuclear weapons, are not able to settle down in peace and friendship. It is wrong to assume that the only alternatives are death or defeat, suicide or surrender. We plead for patience, perspective and understanding. In the pursuit of peace we may have to take the long, hard road, replace the balance of terror by a co-operative world order. We must have the humility to understand that those who are opposed to us may also be won over by peaceful

methods. In working for international peace and a world community our two nations can co-operate.

Both our countries are trying to adapt themselves to the rhythm of a technological civilization. In this effort we are both striving to mobilize the tremendous forces of the spirit. For lack of inward life many of us are unhappy. Our suffering is not due to the poverty of our inward lives but to the utter absence of any inward life. We have ceased to be individuals and have become statistical units. The meaning of democracy consists largely in the ability to live purposefully apart from the bickerings and manoeuvres of our political or economic lives. The regaining of the sense of the value of the individual is the only way to save the neurosis of the soul now so widely rampant.

I again thank you, President Frondizi, for giving us this pleasure by your visit and I express the hope that even in this brief stay you will take back to your country and your people the good wishes of our people and our Government.

May I ask you to drink to the health of President Frondizi and the welfare of the people of Argentina?

STRENGTHENING OLD BONDS

I

YOUR Majesty: Our President, our Government and our people are delighted to have Your Majesties with us. You are making a friendly visit to a country which has had connections with Malaya from the first century A.D., and recently they have become closer and more intimate. Generations of Indians have made Malaya their home and have given their strength and skill to the development of the country.

We hold your achievements after independence in high esteem. We are impressed by the efforts you are making to develop a multi-

Address of Welcome to the Paramount Ruler of Malaya, at Palam airport, New Delhi, 8 December, 1961

racial society within the framework of democracy. Though Islam is the State religion of Malaya, your toleration of other religions has impressed us. In the four years since you attained independence you have not had any incidents of a racial or religious character.

You are a member of the Commonwealth and we are working together in the United Nations for saving the world from the scourge of war which in this nuclear age is disastrous in character. We have a number of points in common between our two countries and there is a wide field for co-operation.

I have no doubt during the days you spend here you will strengthen the bonds between our two countries and I assure you no effort will be lacking on our side to strengthen our mutual relations.

We welcome you most heartily to this country.

II

I extend to Your Majesties and the members of your party a very cordial welcome on behalf of the people and the Government of this country. We are all delighted to have you with us, the Head of the new Independent Malaya.

Yours is a beautiful country reminding us of Kerala and Ceylon, with its sandy beaches, thick jungles, hilly tracts, streams, rivers and estuaries. A European writer said in 1927 about Malaya, 'no dust, no flies, no crows and no income-tax'. The introduction of income-tax in 1948 is a sign of the modernization of the country.

You have rich resources, rubber, tin, copra, arecanut and spices and the standard of living of the Malayan people is high and is next only to that of Japan.

Malaya is the meeting ground of many peoples—Malays, Chinese, Indians, Pakistanis, Ceylonese, Portuguese, Dutch, Indonesians, Thais and Filipinos. The country is thus composite and heterogeneous. In all large countries we have a variety of peoples. You

Speech at Banquet in honour of the Paramount Ruler of Malaya, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 8 December, 1961

are attempting to weld these diverse elements into a unified whole, to make them feel that Malaya is their home, the source of their livelihood and therefore their loyalty should be to the country. A new Malayan nation is in the making. Modern nationhood does not depend on a common language, religion or customs and manners. It depends on a community of ideals, basic political concepts, economic interests and love of the soil.

Though Islam is declared to be the State religion there is complete freedom of worship in Malaya and the non-Muslim religious groups do not suffer from any political, economic or social disabilities. Your State has given, for example, \$ 100,000 for the erection of a Buddhist temple, and \$ 100,000 to the Ramakrishna Mission in Penang; and you have made smaller grants to Indian Boys' Homes, temples, and churches. For the national mosque you are building, non-Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists have contributed liberally. Malaya in religious matters adopts a very liberal attitude. Your leaders deserve congratulations on this racial and religious harmony.

In the four years after the attainment of independence, there have not been any incidents of a racial or religious character.

You are attempting now to bring about a larger Federation of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak, and Brunei. Our sympathies are with you and we hope that you will succeed in establishing this Federation which will add to the stability of South-East Asia. We wish to see your country strong and united, happy and prosperous.

You have made a contribution to the constitutional practices in so far as the Head of your State, the King, is elected and functions for a period of five years. A King by election for a limited period is not to be found anywhere else in the world.

Our relations with your country stretch far back. We had trade and cultural contacts with Malaysia from the first century onwards. Your very names suggest affinities with India. Your Majesty is called Yang Teramat Mahā Mūlia Sri Pāduka Bāginda Yang Di-Pertuan Agong. Your Queen is called Raja Paramesuri Agong. The throne is called Singāsana and the Ministers are called *mantris*

and the Prime Minister is *pardāna mantri*. Thus our two countries are bound by sentiment, tradition and common political ideals. I have no doubt that all these factors will be considerably strengthened in the years to come, and the visit of Your Majesties will certainly contribute towards this end.

May I ask you to drink to the health of Their Majesties, the welfare of the people of Malaya and Indo-Malayan friendship?

III

YOUR MAJESTY : It has been a great pleasure for us to have Your Majesties and the other members of your party with us for a few days, and we are pleased to know that you went round and saw different sides of our life and felt the warm affection which our Government and people have for you, your Government and your people.

Your leaders deserve hearty congratulations on the very sagacious way in which they are dealing with the racial and religious problems of your country.

You pointed out several ways in which our thoughts and aspirations converge. You referred to our faith in the parliamentary system of democracy with its respect for human dignity and freedom and social justice. If a democracy is to be alive and real, every member of the community should get a chance of education and employment.

A country is the creation of its people; whether it prospers or declines depends on the character of its people. There is a well-known saying, 'if you plan for a year, plant seeds; if you plan for ten years, plant trees; if you plan for a hundred years, plant men'. If poverty, malnutrition, social misery and stunted growth are to be removed, if what is called the revolution of rising expectation is to be fulfilled, we must train our people in civilized living and responsible citizenship.

Speech at Banquet held by the Paramount Ruler of Malaya, at Ashoka Hotel, New Delhi, 13 December, 1961

We wish your attempt to work for the establishment of a Federation of Malaysia, including Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei success. As I said the other day, the establishment of such a State would contribute to the stability in South-East Asia.

We both yearn for peace. Without it no progress is possible. We are members of the United Nations; we belong to the Commonwealth also. But our associations are much deeper than our membership of these organizations. With such cultural bonds binding us together, it will be possible for us to work for the achievement of peace. War is so deeply entrenched in our folklore, tradition, literature, that it is not easy for us to imagine a world without war. Yet, today in the new context war may make the world uninhabitable for humanity. We must abolish it before it abolishes us. We must remove the causes which make for war, racial discrimination, colonialism, which are themselves the results of the deeper causes in our own nature of greed, passion, ambition, love of power and brutality. A moral cleansing is what we need. The nations of the world should work for the removal of the outer causes and the inner ailments.

It is pleasing to hear of your appreciation of our attempts to build our social and economic democracy, but we are aware that what we have done is little compared to what we hope to do, to what the requirements of the situation demand. We are grateful to you for your generous words of appreciation of the little assistance we have given to you. You may be sure that our trade will improve and our co-operation will increase. It is our earnest hope and desire that your country will grow in prosperity and your people will feel that the State is working for their welfare.

Your Majesty, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I give you now the toast to the Paramount Ruler of the Federation of Malaya.

WELCOME TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV

M^R President: We are very happy that you were able to accept the invitation of our President to visit this country. We welcome you to India as the distinguished Head of a great country. We are particularly glad that Madame Brezhnev has been able to accompany you.

The relations between our two countries have been close and friendly and this friendship has been strengthened in recent years by the exchange of visits of the leaders of our two countries. We recall with pleasure the two visits which Mr Khrushchev has paid to us. We are also happy to recall the enthusiastic reception which the Soviet people gave to our Prime Minister on the two occasions he has been to the Soviet Union. Last year our President was acclaimed by the Soviet people during his fortnight's tour of your great country. I am happy that we have now got an opportunity of according a welcome to you and the members of your party on our own soil.

You will see something of old India and something of the new. In the building of New India we have received very valuable co-operation and assistance from you. You will be able to see for yourself the results of this fruitful co-operation.

It has been the constant desire of both our countries to strive for peace in the world so that all mankind can enjoy the fruits of their endeavours. In the present day when such remarkable advances have been made in the field of science and technology and a life of peace and plenty for all our peoples is within our grasp and no longer a distant goal, it has become all the more imperative that we should work together for finding solutions which would not only remove the dangers of war but make it impossible.

On behalf of the people and the Government of India I extend a hearty welcome to both of you and to the other distinguished members of your party and express the hope that you will find your stay interesting and pleasant.

Speech of Welcome to President Brezhnev, at Palam airport, New Delhi,
15 December, 1961

INDO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP**I**

MAY I on behalf of the people and the Government of India extend a very warm welcome to you, Mr President, and your colleagues?

I spent a few years, 1949-1952, in the Soviet Union and have very pleasant recollections of my stay there. Your people then were engaged in repairing the ravages of the devastating war in which you had nearly twenty million casualties and a third of your country was overrun. Your country has made tremendous economic progress through the energy and efficiency of your people.

We appreciate your great eagerness to remove poverty, social misery and unemployment. These are some of the objectives which we have. We also aim at universal education, free medical relief and full employment.

Your astonishing achievements in science and technology have opened new vistas for mankind. A Czech poet wrote: 'Time raised the curtain and the world was changed'. A relatively backward country in the second decade of this century is today one of the two most industrially advanced nations of the world. Sputniks and spaceships are the symbols of this great progress. We were fortunate in welcoming only a few days ago Major Gagarin and his modest and charming wife. In the short time they spent with us, they won our admiration and affection. Your pavilion in the Industries Fair contains many technical devices and appliances useful in domestic life and agricultural production.

Every session of the Communist Party Congress illustrates how Marxism is a creative process perpetually adapting itself to the new needs. Time marches on and we have to develop new forms of organization.

Our relations with the Soviet Union during the past few years in the fields of industry, technology, culture and trade have shown a remarkable advance. Projects such as the Bhilai Steel Plant, the Heavy Machine Building Plant at Ranchi, the Coal Mining

Speech at Banquet in honour of President Brezhnev, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 15 December, 1961

Machinery Plant at Durgapur, the Thermal Power Station at Neyveli, and the Oil Refinery at Barauni are a few of the impressive results of Indo-Soviet collaboration. We are grateful to the Soviet Union for its generous assistance in these and several other fields.

The volume of trade between India and the Soviet Union has shown considerable development in the last four years and we hope that it will increase further in the years to come.

We have had frequent exchanges of scholars, sportsmen, etc. In fact, an Armenian gymnastic group of ten men is now here and will stay for about two weeks. The Indian Institute of Technology at Bombay is receiving assistance in technical personnel and equipment. We are anxious to increase opportunities for the free intercourse of our peoples and for the free interchange of ideas.

All these efforts which are being made by the Soviet Union and India to provide a fuller and happier life to our peoples will secure concrete benefits for them if we are able to live in an atmosphere of peace and stability. Unfortunately we seem to live in days of growing prosperity and diminishing security. Our two countries, as well as others, are eager to normalize relations among nations on the principles of peaceful co-existence and non-interference in the affairs of other people. We should create conditions for the peaceful solution of outstanding problems. We are both opposed to racial discrimination and exploitation of man by man. We are anxious that an agreement on general and complete disarmament is reached as soon as possible as that is the only way to avoid the horrors of a nuclear war. We have to be vigilant for the climb to civilization is slow and difficult and the descent from it is swift and easy.

The collective will for survival should stir us all out of our traditional grooves. We live in an atmosphere of fear and hatred; we should replace it by one of understanding and tolerance. When our nerves are strained, we are irritated by every noise. Everything is taken suspiciously. Love is blind, but hatred is blunder. It is our sincere hope that the negotiations which are taking place between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers in Geneva and elsewhere will prepare the ground for effective and acceptable agreements on issues which, if unresolved, threaten the very survival of mankind.

In this context we appreciate the call of the Government of the Soviet Union for peaceful economic competition and diversion of resources from armaments to the industrial, economic and cultural development. Your worthy Prime Minister reminded the Twenty-second Party Congress that when the Soviet Coat of Arms was under discussion the first sketch contained a sword. Lenin sharply rebuked, 'Why the sword? We need no conquest. The policy of conquest is utterly alien to us. We are not attacking but repulsing domestic and foreign enemies; ours is a defensive war and the sword is not our emblem'. The hammer and the sickle became the emblem of the Soviet Union.

We should halt the armaments race, promote economic competition and co-operation. In spite of differences in the social and economic set-up of the great Powers, there is a great deal in common among the great nations of the world. They are not as different as their advocates imagine. Both aim at rapid industrialization. Both affirm that there should be no export of revolution or counter-revolution. Both believe in the role of the individual. Marx aimed at the liberation of the individual from economic determination. He denied God because he believed in the potential divinity of man. You rightly criticize the cult of personality and the abuses of power and repressive measures. All this is in the interests of the individual. Friendship should be the relationship between nations. No pride of race or insolence of might should mar this relationship.

There are nations as there are individuals who wish to play the role of God. This temptation has to be resisted. Conscious formulation of ideals is not enough. We know the right and approve it; we condemn the wrong and pursue it.

The course of life is determined by human decisions. It is our humble hope that the great leaders will recognise that the interests of humanity are paramount.

We earnestly hope and wish that you, Mr President, and your colleagues will have a pleasant and interesting stay here. May I request you to convey to the Government and the people of the Soviet Union our greetings and best wishes in the tasks of development which the Soviet Union has undertaken?



Receiving credentials from the Ambassador-designate of Lebanon, Rashtrapati Bhavan, 31 October 1961

Receiving credentials from the Ambassador-designate of Belgium, Rashtrapati Bhavan, 24 November, 1961





Receiving the Paramount Ruler of
Malaya at Palam airport, New Delhi,
8 December, 1961

Receiving credentials from the Ambassador-designate of Iran, New Delhi, 2 December, 1961





Speaking at a banquet held in honour of His Majesty the Paramount Ruler of M
in New Delhi, 8 December 1961

With H I
the President
of U S S R,
on his arrival
at Palam
airport, New
Delhi,
15 December,
1961



May I request you to drink to the health of the President of the Soviet Union, the prosperity of the Soviet people and Indo-Soviet friendship ?

II

WE are happy that you, Mr President, Madame Brezhnev and your distinguished colleagues were able to spend a few days and see some parts of our country. You must have noticed the warmth and cordiality of our people for you and the Soviet Union. We contrived to bring a little Moscow weather which you must have noticed. We are happy that you, Madame Brezhnev and your distinguished colleagues are pleased with what you saw in this country.

You must have seen for yourself several examples of Indo-Soviet co-operation. I have no doubt that these will increase in the years to come.

We are interested not only in the development of industries but also in rural reconstruction. Your pavilion in the Industries Fair contains many technical devices and appliances useful in domestic life and agricultural production. Those who have witnessed your pavilion, I have no doubt, will derive great benefit.

We note with pleasure the common ideals which bind our two countries: resistance to colonial domination and racial discrimination and removal of poverty, unemployment and social misery. You mention the common determination of our peoples to fight for the preservation of peace. The philosophy of co-existence in international affairs stems from our ancient cultural traditions. We wish to let other systems of thought and belief grow according to their own genius without any interference from without. In international matters we do not wish to interfere with systems of economy and politics which are not exactly ours. We have no intention to play

Speech at Banquet given by President Brezhnev, New Delhi, 23 December, 1961

the role of God in these matters. We do not believe in the export of revolution or counter-revolution to other countries. Both our countries are keen on abolishing inequalities among men and among nations. You are the children of a great revolution which occurred some 44 years ago. We also are the products of a revolution though it was of a bloodless character. It is our hope that this revolutionary spirit would help us in effecting radical changes in our minds and hearts. Mankind is once more on the march. The old foundations are crumbling. Things are again fluid. We have broken the chains that bound us to the past. We must advance towards a new goal. Time, the great innovator, is relentlessly sweeping us into the future. We cannot go back even if we wish to, for there is nothing to go back to. The way is long and difficult and it may call for great suffering and sacrifice. But we must reach a world without wars. All that is human will pass away if we do not advance in that direction. All that man has achieved in the past is a prelude to what he shall achieve. We have learnt to ride the waves and the wind, to harness the rivers for watering deserts, to master the earth and the creatures thereof and with the earth as our footstool reach out to the stars. We must now turn to conquer our own fears and superstitions, suspicions, hatreds and prejudices which are largely the relics of our primitive past. We have reached a point where our very existence depends on the development of a sense of international responsibility. We must have the courage, the fortitude and the dedication to put the interests of humanity above those of nations. We must develop a sense of belonging to the human race. In this effort, you, Mr President, may assure your Government and people that they can count on our enthusiastic co-operation.

May I ask Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, to drink to the health of the President of the Soviet Union, the Members of the Soviet Government, the well-being of the Soviet people and Indo-Soviet friendship and world peace ?

THE INDIA INTERNATIONAL CENTRE

MR Prime Minister, Shri Deshmukh, Mr John Rockefeller, Your Excellencies and friends : On account of the regrettable absence of the President I am here to open this India International Centre. It is international in character, in its conception and execution. The project owes a great deal to the imagination and generosity of Mr John D. Rockefeller the third. We are happy to have him and Mrs Rockefeller with us today. The first sod for this building was turned by our good friend, Shrimati Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya. The foundation-stone for this building was laid by His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Japan. The President of the Board of Trustees is our distinguished friend, Shri C. D. Deshmukh, and under his stewardship I have no doubt the Centre will make great progress.

From the Prime Minister's reference to Aśoka, it is clear that in India we have an exceptionally favourable climate for the growth of the international spirit. This region has seen the rise and growth of a civilization which has spread to the limits of Asia, East and West. This civilization has developed for many centuries without interruption, perpetually renewing itself as fresh influences were brought to bear on it. Its literature and art, its philosophy and religion have served for the education of successive generations in India and its neighbourhood. By and large, its spirit has been one of catholic comprehension, not negation. Its outlook, in spite of occasional lapses, set-backs, blind alleys, has not been conservative or exclusive. It has tried to forge unity out of differences without effacing them. It is this spirit of fellowship, harmony, which has today to be used on a world scale.

The ages have witnessed many changes in this world, but none has witnessed the present reality when peoples and cultures are brought together through the astounding achievements of science and technology. These very achievements contain both a promise and a peril. If wisely handled they may herald a new era; if unwisely, they may lead to vast destruction.

Speech at the opening of the India International Centre, New Delhi, 22 January, 1962

With the knowledge gained by centuries of effort, we have slowly ascended from primitive savagery to the most sophisticated technological society and yet unfortunately we find not so much fight against hunger, disease, poverty and ignorance as with one another for power, for honour, for prestige. Power is another name for self-aggrandizement, whether in individuals or in nations. When we are seized by it, we become disdainful of others. Intellectual and emotional readjustment is necessary if we are to save the heritage of ages and the future of humanity. Our minds must be corrected and our hearts cleansed. A world without war has become a practical necessity. Nationalism should be subordinated to the interests of humanity. Faith in military force has to be abjured. We have to break with these usages of the past, which have led to two wars in our lifetime and threaten us with a third. We cannot contract out of the present and stick to the past.

It is in troubled times that we should strive for serene contemplation, for lucid and orderly thinking, for beauty, harmony and wisdom. A centre like this has the setting for such activities. By organizing seminars, cultural exchanges, serious discussions on the problems which face the world, it will help to order our thinking and re-fashion our society. We know what is right but we must be trained to will the right and do the right. I have no doubt that this Centre will help to educate all those who come under its influence in international responsibilities, in the appreciation of values of other cultures. I have great pleasure in declaring open these buildings of the India International Centre.

CLOSE RELATIONS

WE are very happy, Mr Vice-President, to have you and the members of your party with us. You are one of the leaders of the Egyptian revolution, a close friend and counsellor of President

Speech at Banquet in honour of Marshal Amer, Vice-President of the United Arab Republic, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 24 January, 1962

Nasser. A revolution becomes necessary when a serious attempt is made to modernize a nation. Many of the countries of Asia and Africa were dominated by others on account of their own religious reaction, feudalist structure of society and technical backwardness. Egypt's revolution is a major force in the Arab world and an example to others.

Your revolution has for its objective the establishment of a socialist co-operative democracy. Your socialism is not of a doctrinaire kind. It is a pragmatic one and is anxious to safeguard the liberties of the individual. Any State is tested by its capacity to relieve the poor and the oppressed from the burdens and they are found in large numbers in our countries, in Africa and Asia. You are engaged in this great task.

By the application of science and technology you are attempting to redeem large parts of your country which are now desert areas. You are anxious to reclaim them and make them useful for human needs.

Your insistence on rural development and co-operative farming has a special appeal to us since we are engaged in a similar task.

Our relations are getting closer and more intimate. We have established certain cultural exchanges. Our Atomic Energy Commission and your Atomic Energy establishment are working in close co-operation and even in defence matters, as you doubtless know, there is a relationship. Our officers of the Archaeological Department have visited your country in connection with the saving of the Nubian monuments from submergence. We propose to send a team of archaeologists to your country. The trade between our two countries has steadily improved.

Apart from these national objectives, in the international field we are working in close co-operation. Our relations have become closer since the Suez Canal events and they have been strengthened by the strong bonds of friendship between your great leader and our Prime Minister.

We are privileged to play a part in one of the most creative periods of human history, the growth of a world community along with the emergence of new nations. We are both opposed to colonialism,

which humiliates those under it and breeds hatred for the rulers among the people. Hatred and humiliation are not helpful for the growth of friendly relations among people.

On the large issues of disarmament our views are similar. You, Mr Vice-President, and the members of your party, in the few days you stay here, we hope will be able to see something of what we are doing, how our minds are working and you will also feel the great sympathy and friendliness our people have for your President, your Government and your people. May I request you to convey to your President, your Government and people our best wishes in your attempt to achieve a social and economic revolution ?

HUMAN RIGHTS

I am happy to be here this morning and inaugurate the Seminar on Human Rights with special reference to freedom of information. I welcome the representatives of the countries included in the geographic area of ECAFE (Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East). The United Nations Organization deals not only with the problems of the security of the world but also with the welfare of the nationals. Social services, cultural activities, mass communication are also considered by the U. N. and its specialized agencies.

This Seminar is intended to enable the representatives of the different countries to find out how in their respective countries the Human Rights stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights approved on December 10, 1948 by the General Assembly of the United Nations are being implemented. They will share their experiences and gain knowledge.

The preamble to the United Nations Charter reaffirms faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and value of every human being, in the equal rights of men and women.

In modern society the role of the individual in the shaping of

Speech at inauguration of the United Nations Seminar on Human Rights, New Delhi, 20 February, 1962

society is diminishing. He feels a sense of hopelessness, that it does not depend on him whether the present state of the world continues in its present dangerous condition or gets better. Society is so complex and complicated that the individual becomes a mere cog in the machine and there is nothing he can do. He has become a robot, a mechanical monster, incapable of influencing the affairs of his nation or the world. It is for the governments and not for us to cause conflicts or heal them. The ordinary man has no quarrel with the peoples of other countries. By a steady process of indoctrination he is made to like or dislike other peoples. Darwin, Marx, Freud and Behaviourism make out that man's conduct is determined. The faith of the United Nations, which affirms the dignity of man, is opposed to all these determinist views. Man is not a mere object, he cannot be made into a thing. His spirit is not manipulated by external forces. He is both the tempter and the tempted. The slogans which seduce, the taunts that stab, the fiery desires which burn, belong to the region of ignorance and error and he can overcome them. He has to face his temptations if he has to climb to the heights of his greatness. Man is a free being and so can master the nature without and the nature within. There is nothing which he cannot attain in the improvement of human society if he only wills to do so.

Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, reads: 'Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinion without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.' We have adopted this principle in our list of fundamental rights.

We have on the one hand unrestricted freedom of the Press and on the other complete State control and censorship of all news. Both these extreme attitudes are unhealthy for the well-being of society. For centuries we have had a conflict between new knowledge and old authority. Many claim the right to discover and publish new truths, others wish to suppress and silence them. We should stand for freedom against coercion, for truth against obscurantism.

Attempts were made to have an international code of ethics for

journalists to be framed by themselves. The principles of freedom and fraternity, equality and justice, which our Constitution sets forth in its Preamble, should guide the activities of the Press.

You are now here when the third general elections are in full swing. If you follow our newspapers you will notice the utmost freedom of Press and of speech. If sometimes intemperate talk has led to intemperate behaviour and a few ugly incidents of violence and brutality have occurred which are quite disturbing, these should not take away from the overall picture which is one of hope for the future of democracy in India. This largest free election of the world has established the reality of democratic practice in the country. We believe not in outward constraint but in inward restraint. When we grant freedom we should be prepared for its abuse. A judge of the Supreme Court of the U. S. A., Justice Holmes, observed in a case: 'The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theatre and causing a panic.' In these elections, slogans like 'religion in danger', 'fascism on the throne', 'communism round the corner' are being bandied about. We are using our political freedom for achieving social and economic development. We lay stress on both individual freedom and social justice.

Our century began in a mood of great confidence. We had faith in the sway of reason and the inevitability of progress. These illusions were shattered by the war of 1914-18 in which many nations were trapped on one side or the other. It was the beginning of a new age. The war which was fought to make the world safe for democracy paved the way for dictatorships. Disillusionment was the result of the victory and most people suffered from mental unrest and illness.

Gertrude Stein told Ernest Hemingway in early 1920, that he and his contemporaries were 'a lost generation'. They all felt that there was nothing in the inherited moral attitudes and political assumptions that they could accept. They had to work out a code of conduct, personal and social. They were not a 'lost generation' in the sense that they had no spirit of adventure or optimism. The habit of hope is difficult to destroy, though it is not easy to cling to

it. The lost generation was not totally lost. It was not altogether damned. It was full of hope and energy. The League of Nations was set up but men's minds were not ready for the making of a new world. The Second World War came, and on the 6th of August, 1945, when the atom bomb was used in Japan, the challenge to the human race to get together or pass out emerged. The English poet, W. H. Auden, called it the 'Age of Anxiety', symbolizing the sad plight of the human condition. Most of us suffer from anxiety-states. A sense of insecurity, military and mental, pervades the atmosphere. We seem to accept even passionately a mood of despair, of defeatism. Man has to get out of this condition. By conforming to the past traditions of the nation-state, which recognizes no superior and has faith in military force, we take the road to disaster. We are today in the period of reconstruction. The historical situation requires us to look upon humanity as a whole, if it is to survive. We are members one of another. We have to effect a change in the minds and hearts of individuals. A sense of fellowship among nations has to grow. It does not come of itself. The feelings and instincts which bind us to our fellowmen require to be strengthened. We have to bridge the barriers that divide the two blocs. There is an increasing sense of inter-dependence, a growing awareness of the oneness of the cause of man. In many spheres we are co-operating and are realizing that if we injure others, we injure ourselves. The threat of nuclear destruction affects us no matter where we are or what we believe. Peace cannot be preserved unless the use of nuclear force is controlled by an instrument not of this or that nation but of mankind as a whole. We cannot contract out of this world society even if we wish to. This new awareness of the world community is influencing our attitudes and loyalties. International organizations which consider problems from the standpoint of humanity as a whole and not this or that nation are on the increase. They speak for mankind as a whole. The human rights, you will consider, are universal and apply to all individuals and groups. They express the general will of the community of nations. The most modern and universal media of mass communication and entertainment, the radio,

the television. reach into every home, irrespective of race, religion, class or creed. They serve as great levellers of all class distinctions. The free flow of information and the free exchange of ideas are essential for the increase and dissemination of knowledge. All the great works of science and technology, all the classics of the world—Greek and Roman, Jewish and Christian, Chinese and Indian—belong to all persons. We have now the opportunity to understand the basic ideals of cultures other than our own. By increasing knowledge of one another, we increase goodwill towards one another and develop a sense of community among the peoples of the world. This community of minds is the basis for the political unity of the world. This concept should sink deep into our consciousness. Our education and culture instead of being geared to an earlier stage of human society should aim at the development of a world view. The obligation to grow in our minds has to be fulfilled through the use of every means of bringing such a purpose into consciousness. Let us not go down as a criminal generation which used the wonderful scientific discoveries and technological devices for keeping nations separate and not bringing them together. Freedom of information is essential for the building of a new world.

TECHNICAL COLLABORATION

WE are happy to have with us the members of the Rumanian Parliamentary Delegation though we are sorry that their period of stay here is very short. I had the honour of visiting Rumania in 1956 and remember vividly the very friendly reception I had when I was there.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to me personally that of the eleven members of the Delegation now visiting us six are professors of medicine, education, history, technology, etc. The leader himself is a distinguished professor of medicine who has

Address of welcome to the Rumanian Parliamentary Delegation, New Delhi, 29 March, 1962

specialized in the subject of viruses. Of less than five hundred members in the Grand National Assembly, seventy are ladies. We cannot say that we have a similar proportion in our Parliament.

There are many things which bind us together. Rumania has been the inheritor of the Roman Empire and its laws. After a chequered political career, she attained independence after the Second World War, and has been able to raise the standards of the people. We in our country have also had an ancient history. We attained our independence in 1947 and are attempting to raise the living standards of our people. In this attempt we have received considerable assistance from the Government and people of Rumania. In Gauhati, in Ahmedabad and in Cambay, the oil exploration, drilling and refineries owe a great deal to the aid which the Rumanian Government have provided us. I have no doubt that this technical and financial collaboration will go on steadily increasing.

Even in cultural matters, we have now established a cultural agreement. Our scholars are getting training in Rumania and their cultural delegations visit us, giving us healthy enjoyment. All great works of art and literature, theories of science and tools of technology spring from the mind of individuals. The unfettered pursuit of truth is the basis of all cultural growth.

In international affairs, we are both interested in the attainment of peace. We are both convinced that there is no disagreement in the world which can justify nuclear war. We are both anxious that the world should become a place for the healthy life and happiness of human beings.

This morning the leader of the Delegation mentioned to me a story by Avicenna: two lambs were placed in two rooms and provided with fodder. In one room there was a wolf. Both the lambs had equal opportunities of feeding and sustaining themselves, but the lamb in the room with the wolf was unable to use the fodder and so it languished and died. The other lamb grew into a healthy one. Fear of what is likely to happen is our greatest enemy and unless it is removed, it will not be possible for us to live in this world in comfort. In our attempts to attain peace, we are both working together. It is my hope that our

collaboration—technical, cultural and international—will be increased in the years to come.

I ask you to drink to the health and well-being of the President of the Rumanian Republic, the people of Rumania and the Leader and members of the Parliamentary Delegation. May Indo-Rumanian friendship endure.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

THE SAHITYA AKADEMI AWARDS

MAY I congratulate the winners of the Sahitya Akademi awards this year? We hope that these awards will help them to continue their work and even do better and give encouragement to others.

Literature in our country, as its name suggests, works for togetherness, fellowship, love of neighbour and reconciliation of peoples. Compassion and mercy are the qualities exalted by literature, not hatred and oppression. It has been the one ideal that has governed creative literature in our country from its early beginnings in the Rg Veda till today.

The responsibility of literary artists at a time when we are building our country and striving to introduce sanity and decency in international relations is great. Great literature with its transfiguring quality emancipates us from narrow prejudices and group loyalties. It negates frontiers. Our generation is charged with remaking the world and our task is to heal the divisions within our country which are the greatest danger to us and break down the antagonisms which divide the world and threaten it with destruction. We must save the world from destroying itself.

Literary artists build on the foundations of their experience, their suffering and joy, their hopes and dreams. At the source of every literary work there is an experience, brief or long, of childhood and adolescence, of intense passion. So literary writers build for all. A literary genius, it is said, resembles all though no one resembles him.

Literature should not merely mirror life but raise its quality. We should not justify existing social forms and practices nor take refuge in a dream-world. We must maintain a balance between what is and what we aim at. Literature gives us hope of *a new life*, a better life, a nobler life. Human nature is infinitely malleable and it should be our endeavour to make the human face more attractive, the human heart more tender and human nature more dignified.

The ideas that move the world spring from the minds of individuals and we must give expression to them in clear and shining

Speech at the distribution of the awards, New Delhi, 21 February, 1959

words which will be long remembered. If we do so we help national integration and international solidarity.

THE INTERNATIONAL P. E. N. CONGRESS

I am honoured by the opportunity to say a few words at this inaugural ceremony. The President of the Republic is essentially a man of letters who, on account of the exigencies of his country's history, has assumed this exalted office. I have no doubt that in the years to come we will have from his pen valuable works of profound thought and ripe wisdom.

It is good that we are meeting in this city which is a blend of art and literature and trade and industry, a city which still bears the scars of the last war. No country which has passed through ravages of war can contemplate with equanimity the present situation with the competition in nuclear armaments. It is fraught with disaster to humanity. In this building the Constitution of 1848 was drawn up. We are now to work for a new world with its new values. Nietzsche put it that the world revolves on the awakening of values; inaudible it revolves. Mr David Carver read to us the P.E.N. Charter which states the new values.

Naturally the P.E.N. wishes to do its utmost 'to dispel race, class and national hatreds and to champion the ideal of one humanity living in peace in one world'. We must learn to live as members of a single family or destroy ourselves. Each race, each creed, each nation regards itself as the chosen of God, as the elect of the future, as the educator of the human race. There is a self-righteousness which each of them feels about its culture, its pattern of life and unconsciously, if not consciously, uses its reason to serve its emotions and develop an aggressive hostility to all those who reject this pattern and are committed to other values. Any nation which sticks to this position and is unable to adjust itself to the realities of the new age has no chance of survival. No nation is immortal.

Address at inaugural ceremony, Frankfurt, 22 July, 1959

Mankind is still on its pilgrimage. The gradual consolidation of the human race has been going on for centuries. Small and isolated families merged in larger social units called the clan or the tribe and when the techniques of civilization advanced these grew into nations. Today the search for larger unions is on. We must recognize the new fact in human history, the emergence of mankind as a co-operating and communicating whole. An international community has become an urgent necessity. There is economic interdependence. International organizations are functioning in quest of political unity. Nations which work together in these have not developed a sense of mutual belonging. As individuals we are more humane, more compassionate than before. But as members of groups we are not equally unselfish or disinterested. If it is wrong for the individual to put his self-interest above national good, it is wrong for the nation to put its interests above those of humanity.

The international order is not to be confused with a rootless cosmopolitanism. We cannot ignore variety and individuality. The world is enriched by the diversity of culture and is frightened by monotony. We must break down the walls of emotional separation. We cannot make mankind into one by decrees and resolutions. Changes in mind and heart require to be brought about. Literary artists by their liberating integrity can realize in their own experience the unity of mankind and communicate their vision to others.

Literary writers who participate in the creative process cannot accept views which make human beings playthings of destiny unable to influence their future. Under the influence of scientific materialism we are led to assume that we are carried down the stream of events and the current may sweep us into disaster. But we can control the flow and steer a course through the eddies. There is no compulsion of fate. The scientific developments do not diminish the scope of individual initiative, do not make men into mere tools of the cosmic process. Achievements of science as of all great art and literature are victories of the human spirit, which can sit in judgment on nature and mould it creatively. It is the free spirit of man that gives us hope, the spirit which is independent of the forces that impinge on it, that seem to overwhelm it. Raised above the beasts of the field, feeble of

mind, sickly in body, oppressed by circumstances, over-shadowed by sickness, old age and death, man yet struggles hard with circumstance and establishes his mastery over it. It is true that there are influences which are not under his control, of which he is not even aware. Inherited tendencies and limitations, biological and psychological pressures, environmental influences have a bearing on his life. Psycho-analysis asks us to reckon with the role of the unconscious. Conscious training and traditional thought affect the profounder layers of man's thinking and being. Yet there is a mystery in man which is not capable of definition in strictly scientific terms.

It is only in an atmosphere of freedom that arts and literature can flourish. Even Karl Marx said 'The censored press remains bad even when giving good products. A eunuch will always be an incomplete man, even if he has got a good voice. Nature remains good, even when giving birth to monsters.'

The ultimate difference between a static society and a dynamic one is the difference between the free, creative moulding of the environment and passive submission to it. This is a period when the free intelligence of man warns us to get out of the rut of our historical attitudes and get adjusted to the new world with all its obligations. How soon we will get to our goal depends on each one of us.

CHALLENGE OF THE SPIRIT

I appreciate the great distinction which the city of Frankfurt has conferred on me by awarding me the Goethe medal. Goethe was a great German, a great European and a great world citizen. He was first and foremost a human being and then a German or a European. Though his energies were spread over many fields—literature, administration, science among others—there was a unity of outlook in all this diversity. He had faith in the rationality of the universe and the creative role of the individual in the making of history.

Address on receiving the Goethe Plaque from the City of Frankfurt,
24 July, 1959

The aim of human endeavour is the development of the whole man. An ancient Upaniṣad tells us that he is a whole man who has a balanced development of the different sides of his nature. He should have the play of life, the satisfaction of mind and tranquillity of spirit. *prāṇārāmaṇ, mana ānandaṇ, śānti samṛddhaṇ*. Humanity, fullness of being, completeness of development was the ideal. The Greeks had a similar conception. Pliny said to a friend setting out for Greece, 'You are going to visit men who are supremely men'. Pythagoras, for example, was an artist, mathematician and mystic. The Greeks exalted sages more than saints. Goethe was in the Greek tradition.

Those who are lacking in wholeness suffer from neurosis, unease, disease, despair. In *Faust*, Goethe gives us a representative figure of modern life, a divided man. Faust is the ambitious spirit who aspired after all knowledge and all power.

From heaven he demands the brightest stars.

And from earth its every strongest joy.

When we first meet him he is a master of every field of knowledge but has not had an insight into the meaning of it all. His knowledge is vast but diffused and directionless and he is distraught in mind. He knows his limitations and is lost in profound despair. He even contemplates suicide. But at the moment of surrender he is held back by a sudden recollection of childhood memories of Easter bells which give him the determination to live.

Modern man is restless with all his knowledge and power. His unrest is traceable to the increased tempo of scientific discovery. Our age differs from others in the unprecedented betterment of the human condition, in the scale and impetus of social progress. Science has relieved us of grinding poverty, mitigated the tortures of physical pain. Again, we have today a large-scale intercourse among the peoples of the world owing to intellectual awakening and mechanical invention. What happens anywhere in the world affects the fortunes of people everywhere, however remote. Whether we realize it or not, we are 'members one of another'. Unfortunately, there are certain historical attitudes to which we are wedded which prevent the consolidation of the human race, such as faith in military methods and sovereign nation-states. The past half-century has

witnessed a regression of humanity, an increased insensibility, a frightening decrease in civility, decency and justice. The suffering and degradation which human beings are capable of inflicting on one another lead one to despair of the future of humanity. There is, besides, a sense of helplessness that we are in the grip of forces more powerful than ourselves.

Not to despair is to be insensitive to the human condition. Desolation is the natural outcome of the division in man's inmost being, the dismemberment in his nature. Faust questions, doubts, despairs and strives. Mephistopheles tempts him to give up striving which is the essence of man's character, the sign of his freedom, and thus demonstrate the failure of man and the failure of God also. All life is a tension between the creative energies of the Divine and the destructive forces symbolized by Mephistopheles. So long as we keep on the struggle, there is hope.

Striving implies that we shake off subjection to a feeling of inevitability in human affairs. History is not mere chance and change. Its course is linear, irreversible, unrepeatable. It is moving towards a goal. Not merely the goal but every single action is important. Every event has significance, every situation is a challenge. If there is a mystery underlying the procession of ages, if there is an unpredictability in history, it is traceable to the uniqueness of man. He is not a mere function of society or of the historical process. He is recreating himself by the decisions he makes. Determination by the past is not a causal one. The present is pregnant with alternative possibilities. The decision we make realizes one of them. In a real sense we determine the future. Goethe asks; 'If the eye were not sunny it could not glimpse the sun. If God's own strength did not lie in us, how could the Divine delight us?' The human soul is the point of intersection of the timeless with time. It is the timeless, the Divine in us that enables us to comprehend the forces that threaten to overpower us, and overcome them. It is this which stirs us to striving.

The Faustian spirit, anguish and despair, are awakened in the individual soul and when they are awakened, they occur in the form of a deep desire to be real, to be whole, to be spontaneous, to be free,

not in an unfettered way but in service to a cause which commands the loyalty of our hearts and minds.

The relation of great men to history is reciprocal. Even when the world is in ferment, divided and off its track, even if we feel that civilization has fallen so low that it may seem that the end of the world is near, there is no need to lose hope. The free and universal minds take upon themselves the task of saving civilization and reconstructing the world of unity and universality. This is the task set to the contemporary world.

The development of nuclear energy imposes on us an obligation to rethink our ways of settling international disputes. In the past, military force was employed and the stronger power prevailed and there were victors and victims. With the increasing deadliness of nuclear weapons which are becoming available to all nations, if there is a nuclear holocaust there will be no victors or vanquished. Victory will only be for death, darkness and destruction. We may agree to renounce nuclear arms and their production, accept inspection and control but they do not help us much. When once we learn to harness nuclear energy, we cannot unlearn it. It becomes a part of our knowledge. It will be with us for rest of our history with all its perils and promises. The fulfilment of our hopes is possible only if the crucial sources of insecurity are removed.

The human spirit has to adjust itself to the realities of the nuclear age. The illusion has been created that modern science and technology have developed a new type of man governed by rational intelligence. But man decides and acts less according to reason and moral principles than under blind urges, unreasoning impulses and deadly passions. We should release ourselves from our bondage to fear and hatred by a discipline of the passions. The timeless in us should dominate the temporal. We should give up the traditional method of achieving our objectives by destructive violence if we are to save the future. In the new world militarism is outmoded and nationalism is not rational.

Goethe suggests a synthesis between nationalism and internationalism. Nationalism is the consciousness which nations have acquired of their own genius when once they are personified.

Internationalism is the relationship and the exchanges which the peoples need naturally to have amongst themselves if they do not want to die of isolation, suffocation and rivalry. Nations like individuals serve the interests of all by being themselves. They find themselves by serving others.

Universality is the demand of the hour. We need the development of a sense of emotional oneness with other people, regardless of their race or religion, nation or politics. Organizations like the P.E.N. strive to prepare and achieve in our minds a new universality. Bossuet explains universality to mean 'to understand by the mind what is great in men.' Goethe tells us that 'the epoch of world literature is approaching and every one of us must occupy himself in aiding this development'. He himself felt at home wherever he found beauty and truth. He admired, for example, Kālidāsa's *Śākuntalā* as a drama which lifts earth to heaven and blends the two. His words are:

Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline,
And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed,
Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine,
I name thee, O *Śākuntalā*, and all at once is said.

Goethe caught a breath of the spirit of India and of other countries by a study of their literatures.

All great literature is universal literature. Its purpose, according to Indian tradition, is *viśva śreyas*, the good of the world. Goethe's great contemporary, the poet Schiller wrote: 'It is a poor and petty aim to write for a single nation. To the philosophic spirit, such a limitation is intolerable. Any such spirit cannot confine itself to so changeable, accidental and arbitrary an aspect of the human race. Is not the most important nation a mere fragment? Ardour in its cause is justified only if a step in the history of that nation is also a step in the progress of mankind.'¹

1. In his Pushkin Address of 1880, Dostoevsky said: 'For what is the power of the Russian people's spirit, in its ultimate goals, if not the striving for universality and pan-humanism? Yes, the destiny of Russian man is undoubtedly pan-European and universal. To the true Russian, Europe and the lot of the great Aryan race is as dear as Russia's herself, as the fate of his native soil, for our lot is universality; not that won by the sword, moreover, but a universality achieved by virtue of fraternity and the striving for the unification of all men.'

History tells us that the previous conflicts of the world between the Greeks and the Barbarians, the Greeks and the Romans, the Romans and the Carthaginians, the Christians and the Muslims, the Protestants and the Catholics, the Allies and the Axis powers, were all conflicts among blood brothers. The enemies we fought were exaggerations of weaknesses we found in ourselves. We have now settled down with them in friendship and enriched our lives.

Goethe remained free under the pressure of his own people who, at the first dawn of nationalism, sought to draw him into the terrible venture to which they had been tempted by Napoleon. 'How could I, to whom culture and barbarism are alone of importance, hate the French nation, which is among the most cultivated of the earth, and to which I owe so great a part of my own cultivation? Altogether, national hatred is something peculiar. You will always find it strongest and most violent where there is the lowest degree of culture. But there is a degree where it vanishes altogether, and where one stands to a certain extent above nations, feeling the weal or woe of a neighbouring people as if it had happened to one's own. This degree of culture was agreeable to my nature, and I had become confirmed in it long before my sixtieth year.'

The persistence of rabid nationalism, whatever ideological disguises it may assume, at a time when any major event in any part of the world would set the whole world in vibration is inexcusable and dangerous. The world is divided today between two armed groups full of fanaticism for their ways of life. By understanding we should narrow the gulf that separates the two before hatreds harden and humanity dries up. Fanatic love of virtue has done more harm to humanity than anything else. Fanaticism is the greatest foe to friendship. Goethe says: 'Error is continually repeated in action. That is why we must continually repeat the truth in words.'

Manichaeism that the world consists of good and evil, that men are either right or wrong, has led in the past to inquisitions, torture chambers, concentration camps and brutal wars. We have rejected this dualism in theory. We should do so in practice and settle our problems in a human way. When Diogenes was asked how best to take revenge on one's enemies, he is reported to have

said ' by becoming better than they '.

The great free spirits of the world, who are responsible for all progress, are now called upon to help in the achievement of further significant advance, the fulfilment of the prophet's ideal and the poet's dream, on earth one family. All nations of the world should strive to obtain for all people, individual freedom, social and economic justice, political independence and equality. These are the preconditions for a world fellowship.

On the morning of the twenty-second of March, 1832, Goethe seated himself in an armchair and as the day wore on and the room grew dark, he said to his servant, 'Open the shutters so that more light may come in '. These were his last words. In view of his long life of unceasing endeavour and quest for truth his words were transmitted to us as a call for ' more light '. Light, illumination, is what we need. Against stupidity it is said that even the gods fight in vain. The most universal prayer among Hindus, the *Gāyatrī*, is a prayer to the Supreme Light for illumining our minds. The pupil in the Upaniṣad tells his teacher that though he has read much, studied the doctrines of the schools, he is still ignorant. We gain wisdom by self-control and the practice of righteousness. A man of wisdom has no room in his heart for condemnation. He is even indulgent to the frailties of the human race. Mankind should recover its sanity, remember its honour and the mystery of its dignity.

Peace is a faith which asks us to submit to the realities of the present world. It is a hope that the invincible spirit of man will not suffer defeat. Even when all else fails, truth does not fail. Loved ones pass away, our friends fail, our cherished dogmas disappear but truth does not pass away, fail or disappear. Peace is also the most difficult of all charity, intellectual charity which we translate by mutual understanding. All those who think and suffer can co-operate in the creation of a new climate of thought, in the fostering of a new disposition of will which will make for brotherhood. Goethe lived to serve and educate the human race to this great goal.

This great genius of immense intellectual versatility for whom all the German people have admiration worked in his early years at Frankfurt and spent his later years in Weimar, now in East Germany.



Arriving at Frankfurt, West Germany, to attend the 30th PEN Conference, 18 July, 1959

Addressing the International PEN Congress at the inaugural ceremony, Frankfurt, 22 July, 1959





Admitting President Eisenhower
to an Honorary Degree of Del
University, 11 December, 1959

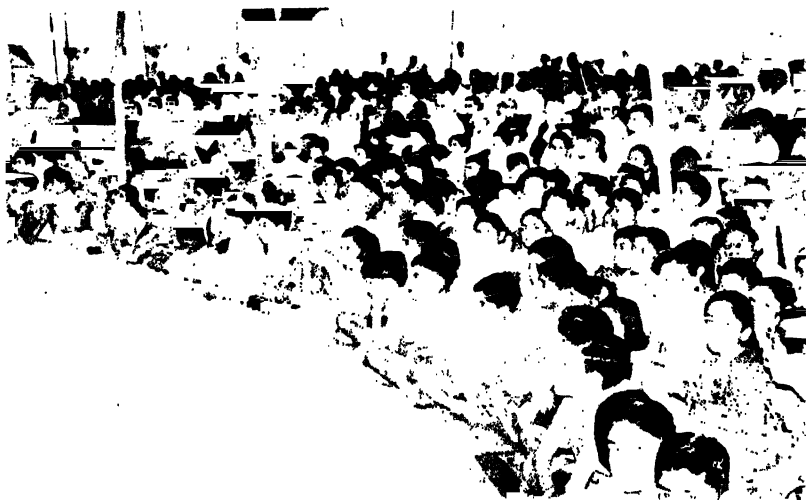


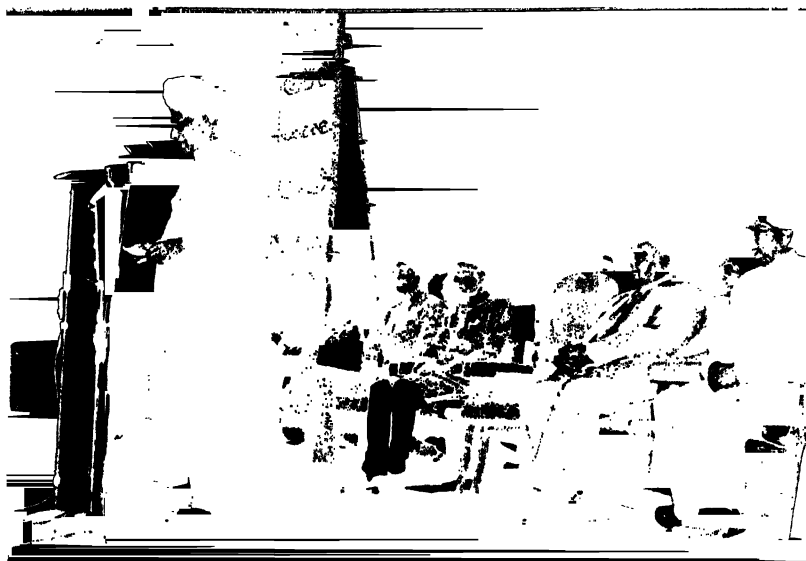
Inaugurating the

At the Special Convocation
admitting Professor Theodor
Heuss to an Honorary Degree,
Delhi University, 4 November,
1960



New Delhi 26 March, 1961.





Inaugurating the Second International Film Festival, New Delhi, 27 October, 1961

At a function for presenting National Awards to Teachers, Parliament House, 31 October, 1961



May the German people of both parts feel united in his name and get together and prepare the way for European unity and world fellowship.

MYSORE UNIVERSITY

MY first word this evening is one of grateful thanks to the authorities of this University for their kind thought in making me an honorary graduate of this University. I have been associated with this University from the days of its establishment and served on its staff for about three years. It was one of the happiest periods of my life.

I had the honour of knowing the first Chancellor of this University whose interest in philosophical studies is well known. The present Chancellor whom I had the privilege of knowing from his student days is not merely an earnest student of philosophy but one who is willing to undergo the discipline of mind and heart essential for the single-minded pursuit of truth. It is a great honour for me to receive the degree at his hands.

Though the period of my stay was brief, the impact of the students and the staff on me has been enduring. I made many valuable friendships here which I cherish till today.

We find in this State great monuments of Buddhism and Jainism. Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva and Basava have all had close and intimate relations with this State. Christianity and Islam are also well represented. The State recalls to our mind that we are not a disinherited people and that our civilization has not been a sedentary one. It has been responding to the changes and moving along with the times.

In his *Philosophy of History*, Hegel remarks: 'India like China is a phenomenon antique as well as modern'. Speaking of the Indian civilization which prevailed in India in 3,000 B.C., Gordon Childe writes :

Address on receiving an Honorary Degree of Mysore University,
29 August, 1959

'Fashions of dress, established in the Indus cities, are still observed in contemporary India. Hindu rituals and deities have roots in the cults depicted in the prehistoric art. From this standpoint the Bronze Age civilization of India has not wholly perished, 'for its work continued far, beyond our knowing'.'

Even today our culture is on the move. However independent of the past our intellect may feel in matters of science and technology, it is ever renewed and consecrated by the consciousness of its connection with the mind and spirit of antiquity. When a civilization loses interest in its history viewed as a living continuity it is in danger of decay. Fortunately for us, our leaders recognize the necessity to protect the delicate, precarious cultural pattern against the onslaughts of materialism, indifference to human freedom and readiness to yield to demagogic power.

We have one foot in a world that is dead or dying and another in a world that at all costs we must see born. The perpetually renewed vitality of our culture gives us hope that we can remould our environment and create a new society.

While modern science and technology give the under-developed countries hope that they can better their condition, they are not enough for the true welfare of human beings. It is not true that if the material welfare of a people is looked after, their spiritual welfare will take care of itself. There is a great danger in concentrating all our energies on the fulfilment of our material needs. Science has led to world-wide advances as well as world-wide chaos, immense powers as well as immense dangers. What we should fear is not material loss but moral decay. We should aim not so much at the acquisition of material possessions but self-possession. *ātmalābhān na param vidyate*. Each one should become not merely a *mantravit* but an *ātmavit*, a knower of self. We need a renewal of the search for the perfection of human personality.

The illusion has been created that modern science and technology have developed a new type of man governed by rational intelligence. But man decides and acts less according to reason and moral principles than under the unreasoning impulses and passions. If we do not fight the passions within us and control them, they will assert

themselves and we revert to the religion of the tribe, of blood, of the city state. Even such a renowned analytic philosopher as Bertrand Russell in his book *Mysticism and Logic* emphasizes the need for religious wisdom. He says: 'I yet believe that, by sufficient restraint, there is an element of wisdom to be learned from the mystical way of feeling, which does not seem to be attainable in any other manner.' Religion is essentially an initiation into inwardness, a cleansing of the internal life. When once the individual becomes inwardly single, he lives for humanity. He stands out for truth and fears none even when isolated and subdued. You may deride him, persecute him but he will not retaliate.

The human self is the most vital element in the shaping of the future. The Marxists are right in thinking that material interests determine historical movements. They are wrong when they argue that they alone do so. Absurd beliefs, noble ideals, irrational ambitions also determine our historical actions. Human stupidity has often determined historical events. Ideas move men to action.

Our practical and cultural future is in our own hands. The human individual is not like 'a leaf caught up in the winds of history', tossed this way and that. If there is one power which man possesses, it is the power to alter his way of life. We should not resign ourselves to the march of time but act as creative, responsible beings, who, whatever the risks, are willing to assume the consequences of their acts. The greatness of a nation is to be measured not by its material power and wealth but by the spiritual quality of its people. The qualitative resources of the human spirit are deeper and more inexhaustible than we dream.

Different religions co-exist in this country without any strife. The one truth is communicated through myth, symbol and history. The diverse revelations do not contradict one another for God is at the centre of each and each revelation speaks an absolute language through a different tongue.

Our tradition has been not to impose our ideals on other people. We wish nations well in their endeavour towards the enhancement of human welfare. They are at liberty to solve their problems in their own way, in accordance with their own ideas as we do ourselves. A

conservative legislator like Manu tells us that we teach the different groups the power and the glory of their own traditions.

svaṁ svaṁ caritraṁ śikṣeraṁ pṛthivyāṁ sarvamānavāḥ

Fanatic virtue has done more harm than good. A university is essentially an agent of unification, not by suppressing other ideas but by expounding the living spirit which is at once the source of all ideas and yet transcends them. It should study the thoughts and ideas of other races and nations. Today the university tradition encompasses the intellectual wealth of all mankind. With time enough on this trembling earth and with good tempers we may clear up many suspicions and misunderstandings and help to make a new world. The old world is on the way out. The gates of the future are open. I earnestly hope that this University may attain even higher levels of intellectual achievement and contribute to the welfare of the people of this State, our nation and the world.

THE HABIT OF READING

I am happy to be here and inaugurate the Book Festival. Shrimati Bhatia thought of me for this function for two reasons; one that I have written a few books and two that I am an inveterate reader of books, good, bad and indifferent.

We do not realize adequately to what extent our minds are moulded by the books we read especially in youth. We have several means by which we acquire knowledge today—the radio, the cinema, the newspaper and we are also having television but reading of books is the most ancient and the most effective of them all. Reading a book is different from mechanized instruction. *Svādhyāya* or *adhyayana* has been enjoined on us. We are never alone when we have books for our companions.

A great writer has said that religion is what a man does with his solitariness. It is not merely religion but art and literature, scientific discovery and technological invention that are the outcome of what

Inaugural Address at the Book Festival, Ambala, 3 October, 1959

a man does with his solitariness. In the modern world we tend to be gregarious beings. When we have a little leisure we run to parties, clubs or other social activities. We are afraid to be alone with ourselves, afraid to stand and stare, much less to sit and think. We are happy with others, not with ourselves. Pascal tells us that all the evils of the world arise from the fact that men are unable to sit still in a room. Reading a book gives us the habit of solitary reflection and true enjoyment.

There is a general complaint that there is a lowering of standards on all fronts. The leaders who fail in their sense of duty mislead their followers.

pradhānāḥ dharmam utkramya adharmeṇa prajāṁ pravartayanti:
The root of the malady is in the human individual. It underlies our political, economic and social practices. We must change the nature of the individual. Literature has this supreme function of raising the quality of human beings. The word *sāhitya* is derived from *sahita* and is that which makes for togetherness, unity, coherence.

When we read great classics, our minds become dyed to their thoughts. Great books foster the psychological health of the reader. They induce in us largeness of mind and normative vision. They give us moral contentment. Indulgence is treason to civilized values.

*saṁsāra-viṣa-vṛkṣasya dve phale amṛtopame
kāvyāmṛta-rasāsvādahḥ sallāpaḥ sajjanaissaha.*

Some books entertain, others instruct, still others elevate our nature. The last are the books which we should read and digest. The goal of human life, we have held, is spiritual fulfilment. Joy or *ānanda* is a sign of triumph. The books that give us joy are different from those which give us pleasure or satisfaction. Joy is the sign of ripeness. When we derive joy from the reading of a book we identify ourselves with what we read even as we become one with the music we hear. Joy is more lasting than pleasure and endures even through pain. The works which induce joy are impersonal and lead to an extinction of the ego. They are expressions not of raw emotion or technical excellence but of emotion fused with thought and recollected in tranquillity. No one who is not a seer can produce great

literature: *nānṛṣiḥ kurute kāvyam*. The supreme creations of our people's imagination are among the masterpieces of world literature. They are the best interpreters of our past and in reading them we are in communion with great minds of thousands of years ago. We must read them if we are to become conscious of our tradition.

We do not maintain a tradition by simply repeating the words and acts of our fathers. By doing so we deprive them of their significance. No tradition can be kept alive without the critical and creative change and renewal which understanding can give. The individual's contribution in turn depends on the pressure on him of the new problems of the age.

The three chief features of our age are the scientific and the technological revolution, the liberation of dependent countries in Asia and Africa and the growing unity of the world. We should read books which give us a scientific temper and outlook. We have to read the histories of Asian and African countries, know their hopes and aspirations. We have also to take into account the fact of the growing unity of the world. The intellectual wealth of all mankind is at the service of each one of us, if we overcome the barriers of language. The whole past and the whole world must be alive in one's heart. Books are the means by which we build bridges between cultures. The opposition of cultures requires to be broken down. Sensitive men thrown in among a people with little capacity for love, who fear one another and hate one another should help to remove suspicion and fear which come to us more easily than understanding and love. Individual nations should be trained to think in terms of the welfare of humanity as a whole: *viśvaśśreyah kāvyam*. Great books are of use to us at a time when our critical values are thrown into confusion. Many of us are not men but shadows of men. We suffer from contradictory impulses. We have fear, suspicion, greed, jealousy as well as kindness, goodwill, the desire to serve and help one another. If we wish to create a normal harmonious human society, the former should be held in check and the latter encouraged. A general spiritual awakening is indispensable. We must not debauch the minds of our people with trivialities. There is a good deal to be said for our ancient practice of starting

the day's work with a few minutes of silent meditation and the reading of sacred classics. Everything will pass away, wealth, possessions, even kingdoms. Even great nations are not immortal. But truth, beauty and loving kindness will live for ever. *māno hi mahatām dhanam.*

POONA UNIVERSITY

I am grateful to the Chancellor and the other authorities of the University for this opportunity to address this Convocation. I have visited Poona on several occasions, the last being in connection with the opening of certain buildings of this University. On that occasion I had the honour of meeting Shri M. R. Jayakar, as it happened, for the last time. He was the Chairman of the Committee which recommended the establishment of the University at Poona which will cater to the special needs and interests of Maharashtra 'without losing sight of the essential character of a university as a seat of universal learning which recognizes no frontiers except those of the human mind itself'.

This University owes a good deal of its orientation to Dr Jayakar's devoted work. Your second Vice-Chancellor, who is happily still with us, is a citizen of Poona who worked in Fergusson College for many years and is an eminent educationist. His wisdom and experience are still available for the University.

A university is local, national and world-wide. It is the essence of all learning that it is universal but its effectiveness depends on local and national adaptations. While this University should help its members to tackle local problems and thus help national welfare, it is also an agent of unification, not by suppressing other ideas but by expounding the living spirit which is at once the source of all ideas and yet transcends them. A university is a custodian of our culture and a channel of communication with the world abroad.

Though Poona was formally given a University only a few

Convocation Address, 4 October, 1959

years ago, it has had for long the great traditions of a university. Many colleges and research institutes have flourished here. Many scholars have made its institutions famous all over the world. The people of Maharashtra are well known for their interest in the things of the mind and have made considerable contributions to the Indian renaissance, in the fields of science and scholarship, art and culture, politics and public life, social reform and religious quest.

Graduates of the year, I congratulate you on your achievements and wish you well in life. You have great examples and traditions which you should keep in mind. You have just listened to an ancient injunction which requires you to conduct yourself in life with the dignity of disciplined intellectuals.

It is the function of a university to build human beings, strive to rid them of their vanities and egotism and emancipate their minds from petty prejudices and narrow loyalties. *sā vidyā yā vimuktaye*. Such enfranchized souls who fear nothing more than cowardice, who despise nothing more than insincerity are needed today for the building of our country. Whatever line you take up disciplined dedication is necessary. Without it we cannot survive in this competitive world.

It is unfortunate that the qualities which we ask you to develop are not much in evidence among us, older people, who ask you to do this or not to do that. Those in positions of influence and authority should not be obsessed by love of power and wealth but strive to serve our country in a disinterested way. We cannot say that our country is today bursting and blazing with patriotism. Our people who once exalted the virtues of austerity and renunciation, *tapasyā* and *tyāga*, are not today shining examples of these qualities.

Youth is the symbol of hope and yearning. You should set your face against self-seeking and opportunism. You should resolve to act nobly and live intensely.

You are entering life at a time when exciting tasks await you. When I took my first degree over fifty years ago, there were very few openings for graduates; law, administration and public life were practically all. Today you have larger opportunities in education, health, public life, defence services, trade, banking, industry and several other lines.

Political freedom has given us the chance to make our country one where all citizens have an opportunity for self-development. The minimum needs of food, clothing, shelter and education require to be met for all. The distances which divide the rich from the poor require to be diminished. Unity is difficult to achieve if gross disparities persist. We are poor with the accumulated poverty of centuries. Our democracy is empty of content if we do not free our citizens from poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance. Scientific knowledge and devotion to the cause of national welfare are expected of university men.

The world is passing through a great scientific and technological revolution. After the phenomenal progress that science has made the world cannot be the same again. Should it not be the ambition of our young scientists and engineers to contribute a little to this revolution? Graduates who have aptitude for research should be encouraged to pursue research by the provision of fellowships in the universities.

We have chosen the democratic pattern of society. We have its varied expressions in adult suffrage, representative government, party system, but we do not seem to have acquired the spirit of democracy, humility, tolerance, understanding, give and take. The spirit of violence is inconsistent with the spirit of democracy. It should be eschewed in word and deed. Some of the things that are happening in our legislatures do not indicate that our representatives are aware of their responsibilities. Momentous decisions are made about our relations with foreign Powers, about the kind of society we are planning for, about the consequences of the technological transformation of our industrial life. These require not only intelligence but integrity; integrity even more than intelligence. Our parliamentary life does not show that it is a very civilized pursuit. Public service should be undertaken with missionary zeal and fervour.

Our economic development has been greatly retarded by historical factors over which we had no control. Unless we increase our economic wealth we cannot raise the living standards of our people. This is a time for supreme effort. Though we have not had an

serious failure of monsoons, though 70 per cent of our working people are engaged in agriculture and allied pursuits, we are faced by food scarcity and rising food prices. Rural areas have been neglected for decades and are now impoverished of local leadership. It is annoying that while most parts of the world after the last war have made phenomenal progress, we are troubled by fears of scarcity, inflation and are increasingly dependent on foreign aid. All of us should look upon the production of wealth as our main task. With a little more will and energy we can fulfil our needs in regard to foodgrains.

In industrial relations there should be peaceful co-operation and not class conflict. Abraham Lincoln tells us:

'Inasmuch as most good things are produced by labour, it follows that all such things ought to belong to those whose labour produced them. But it has happened in all ages of the world that some have laboured, and others, without labour, have enjoyed the fruits. *This is wrong, and should not continue.* To secure to each labourer the whole product of his labour as nearly as possible is a worthy object of any good government.'

The spirit of democracy has two strands in it, individual freedom and social justice. We have laid stress on these essentials of democracy from the beginning of our history. If we overlook these, we may have higher wages and shorter hours and yet live in a world of squalor and horror. The greatest of all possessions is self-possession. If we give up our freedom to think and act as we choose so long as our conduct does not affect prejudicially the lives of others, we will not help our society to advance. All progress is due to those who are not conformists, who think independently. We live in a world which has no space for solitude. We have grown so accustomed to a gregarious life that we are afraid to be alone. We cannot bear it. We want to escape from ourselves. We wish to get away to clubs or parties or associations. The press and the radio, the cinema and the television, useful as they are, should not deprive us of our solitariness. We seem to be able to live with others but not with ourselves. *Dhammapada* opens with the verse that we are made up of our thoughts. We are dyed to the colour of our thoughts. Many of our modern illnesses are due to the destruction of human freedom in organized mass society. If we do not foster the

development of the free individual, our spiritual health will be impaired. Technical development is not necessarily opposed to the free spirit of the individual. We are not playthings of fate or victims of necessity. We need not submit to the environment; we can mould it creatively. Brotherhood is the only true relationship between human beings for it respects their inmost reality, the creative freedom in them.

Freedom of the individual leads to the freedom of the group. Even as individual men can use their freedom and plan their future, groups can set before themselves ideals which they attempt to implement by social forms and institutions. Education is the process by which we transmit these ideals to the youth. The world community which is emerging should be based on democratic principles of freedom of different groups to grow along their own lines and contribute according to their own genius. Our great legislator Manu remarked that in this country we helped each group to live according to its own tradition. This is the basic principle of the philosophy of co-existence. This view is so different from that of those who feel an irresistible itch to arrange other people's lives for them. The way in which we handle our own lives does not seem to qualify us for the task of arranging other people's lives. In politics, in social life, in religious pursuits, democracy requires us to allow all systems to grow so long as they do not adversely affect others. We must give to every cultural group the same respect and the same rights which we wish to retain for our own.

We have suffered on account of our intolerance. Our dissensions, communal, caste, linguistic and provincial have retarded our growth. In a university this spirit of national unity requires to be developed.

The world is becoming uniform. Traditions are waning, individuals are losing much of their significance, a homogeneous civilization with a standardized style of life is springing up all over the world. In such a world we need men of intelligence, of feeling, of honour, men who have a sense of great purpose, of a high destiny. Passing resolutions is not enough. Great nations direct and dedicate all their energies to the supreme purpose of building a civilized

society. They do not seek hate and fear but work for peace and friendship which is based on freedom of all peoples and not their enslavement. Only a life lived for others is worth living.

B. J. S. RAMPURIA JAIN COLLEGE, BIKANER

I should like to congratulate the management and staff of this college on this occasion of the attainment of the Silver Jubilee of the college. You have just heard of the progress of this institution and of the magnificent help rendered to it in the past by the Rampuria family, Seth Banwarilalji Rampuria and his son who is here with us. You have also heard about the achievements of the old students and generally the results in public examinations.

Our proceedings included *sarasvati vandana*. If you reflect on the figure of Sarasvati you will have an idea of what our ancestors aimed at in education. The goddess has for her vehicle a swan, *hamsa*, which is endowed with the capacity of separating milk from water. Education has for its aim not merely the acquisition of information but the capacity for discernment. Judgment is more important than cleverness. In our country today we have many men who are clever but not many who are upright. We should cultivate respect for integrity. We must weed out corruption and clean up the nation. Purity is essential in daily life and administration.

The goddess of learning, her lotus seat and the vehicle swan, are all represented as white, the symbol of purity: *sarvasuklā sarasvatī*.

A balanced personality is possible if we sharpen the intellect, cultivate imagination and discipline our passions. Sarasvati is represented as playing on the *vīṇā*. Art and music should be regarded as essential elements of education. Insight, aesthetic sensibility, moral responsibility cannot be subsumed under the categories of science. The discipline of our nature is an essential part of education.

Silver Jubilee Celebrations, 31 October, 1959

The Jina is the conqueror; Mahāvira is the great hero; Vardhamāna is the ever-growing. Growth is by discipline.

The human spirit has contradictory elements, grandeur, generosity, fellow-feeling as well as pettiness, cantankerousness, fury. By the former we must overcome the latter. *Jñāna*, *darśana* and *caritra*, wisdom, insight and conduct. By their conduct are the great people known.

Our country has not had to pass through the ruin and devastation of a war or a revolution and yet we have not made the progress which other countries have made in the years after the war. It is due to our technical backwardness and laziness. Our lives are not generally purposeful. When the world has made such tremendous progress in science and technology, we are still beggars at other nations' doors. It is a mark of our dependence in matters of science and technology. We should develop the spirit of inquiry and dedication to the pursuit of science and scholarship. We waste our years in college in trivialities and inanities. We are misled into participation in non-academic endeavours. We should instil into our youth zeal for the advancement of knowledge. We have enough material but it is not guided properly. We need education in character. We have to make good men. The First Five Year Plan laid stress on agriculture, the Second on industrial development. Let the Third Plan be dedicated to the making of good men and women. They are the true wealth of the country.

MAHILA MANDAL, BIKANER

THE fortunes of our country could be traced to the different attitudes we adopted towards women. In the great days they were treated as equals of men though not their duplicates. There were times when we looked upon them as commodities to be bought and sold. Even Yudhiṣṭira pawned his wife Draupadi. When she was dragged into the court hall and insulted by Duśśāsana she cried:

Speech at the laying of the Foundation Stone, 31 October, 1959

'I have no husbands, no sons, no kinsmen, no brothers, no father, not even you, O Krishna'.

*naiva me patayas santi; na putrā na ca bāndhavāḥ
na bhrātaro, na ca pitā, naiva tvaṁ Madhusūdana.*

'I am born in a great family, under divine auspices. I am dragged by my hair and how can people like me live?'

*kule mahati jātāsmi divyena vidhinā kila
keśagrāham anuprāptā kānu jīveta mādriśi*

Gandhiji's revolution included the emancipation of women. They participated on an equal status with men in the struggle for freedom. After the achievement of freedom several legislative measures have been enacted with a view to the equal treatment of women and men. But legislative measures are not enough. The climate of opinion has to change and women themselves have to exert their utmost to improve their mental stature. Mahila Mandals of this type where facilities are provided for the uplift of women serve a very useful purpose. It is my earnest hope that more women will take to professions, especially education and health, public service and politics.

DELHI UNIVERSITY

WE are greatly honoured by your joining our academic community. A university, as its very name signifies, is a symbol of the universality of spirit. It has a claim to all human knowledge. For a university there is only one race, the human race. We need to see beneath any colour of skin, any cast of countenance, any pattern of society, the same human urges, the same fundamental moral values. Herodotus exclaimed: 'I cannot understand why three different names have been given to the earth which is one'—Asia, Europe and Libya which is the name for Africa. The earth is both single and diverse. The different nations should live together, as

Chancellor's Address at Special Convocation admitting President Eisenhower to an Honorary Degree of Delhi University, 11 December, 1959

members of one whole, act as friendly partners in the high endeavour of civilization.

In this crucial period of the world's divided destiny, what needs to be emphasized is the unity and interdependence of the world. This goal is in line with human evolution. To achieve it is the passion of the universe.

What stands in the way of the consolidation of the human race is not this country or that country, this system or that system, but human nature itself. We have to deal with man. Plato's Socrates does not exaggerate when he accuses Pericles of having made the Athenians 'idle, base, talkative, greedy'. He was responsible for that body of indolent citizens who expected the State to feed and amuse them. They had an infatuation for Athens and hostility to other City States. Greece perished of the disease of patriotism.

We are engaged in a battle of the past with the future. Human nature by sheer inertia and apathy clings to inadequate, if not outmoded political, economic, sociological and military concepts such as national idolatry and racial bigotry. We identify ourselves with the past and think that human welfare is bound up with it. We clothe our passions and ambitions, our greeds and resentments, in the garments of virtue. Even good people who are spiritually concerned and morally committed delude themselves by inertia, ignorance, sophistry and pretence. In our anxiety to maintain our comfortable *status quo*, 'long black coat and gold watch chain',¹ we deny the very essence of life, perpetual change. Human adventure subsists only at the price of unceasing change. Man is always in transition. If we do not realize this we will seek destruction at our own hands. What we need today is a change of heart, a raising of the spirit. The technical problems are relatively simple, if the deeper problems of the spirit are tackled; if aggressive rivalry, fear and suspicion are overcome. The world's future is each individual's responsibility. We are not like leaves tossed by the winds of history. Each one of us has to purify himself by effort and serve others by his example. Gandhiji said, 'For me morals, ethics and religion are convertible terms'. Man is a bridge between two worlds.

A university should give us faith in things unseen, in values which are intangible. With that outlook we will grow in our humanity, develop the world vision, work for the world community, become world citizens: *viśva mānuṣāḥ*. There can be no rest for us so long as justice and love do not hold sway over the lives of men. Humanity is yet in its infancy. The gates of the future are wide open.

We are proud that we have added to our list of graduates your name, Mr President, you, who, with a reverent heart, have dedicated your life to the establishment of peace and goodwill among men, an ideal which we may recall in this Christmas season. We can realize it if we put off the old man and put on the new. We heartily welcome you to our fellowship.

THE KISHENCHAND CHELLARAM COLLEGE

I wish first to congratulate the authorities of this institution on the splendid work they have been doing for the last 97 years, and when I saw the faces of these young girls, I thought they were quite happy and spirited. As to what I have to say this evening, friends, it was said much better by the lady who preceded me, who quoted from some of my speeches, which I have altogether forgotten. She started by saying that this country has passed through a chequered career, a career of glory and gloom, of triumph and defeat, of subjection and victory. Whenever we were successful, our people worked together as a single unit, whenever we failed, we quarrelled among ourselves and exposed ourselves to defeat. So, if we are to prosper hereafter, the one essential condition is that we must all feel that we are the citizens of this great country, that loyalty to the country should supersede all minor loyalties of clan and of community, of province and language. Our primary loyalty should be to the country as a whole. The task of welding together these miscellaneous sections of people, practising different religions, speaking different languages, belonging to different races, welding

Speech on the occasion of the Annual Prize Distribution, 26 March, 1960

them all together into a single homogeneous community, is a work that has to be undertaken in our educational institutions.

Here, I find in this institution, people coming from different parts of India. I see women from Bengal, Madras, Bombay and all parts of India. If here you can develop a sense of national coherence, it will help you a great deal in the future history of our country. I have no doubt that those who are trained here will play a vital role in our future. She also remarked that 'mere scientific education is not enough'. We have had illustrations in the history of the world when people who obtained magnificent triumphs in science and technology brought the world to disaster. We have known cases of highly intellectual nations which are spiritually starved trying to do the impossible and courting defeat and disaster. The World Wars which we have witnessed are an illustration of this lop-sided development of human nature. We are, each of us, both rational and spiritual, scientific and religious; we should not think that we are either scientific or religious, either rational or spiritual. No man is a complete human being, unless he is able to develop the rational and the spiritual aspects of his nature. It is because the spiritual is not well attended to, that in times of difficulty and strain, we fall back on external diversions, and do not have any inward resources because of the nudity in our hearts, of vacuum in our minds, of something not being there that we were always turning to outward diversions. We want to keep ourselves busy in some activity or other because we try to shut from ourselves the inner vacancy of our being.

Therefore, we urge that in an educational institution, you should try to emphasize both the scientific and religious sides of man. One of our ancient thinkers has said that the true life of man consists in the play of the vital organism, in the satisfaction of mind and in the abundance of tranquillity.

prāṇārāmaṁ, mana ānandaṁ,

shānti samriddhaṁ, prāṇārāmaṁ

The play of life, the play of vital organism, song, dance, sports, athletics, all these things conduce to that vitality of the organism. If we do not have physical fitness, other things we cannot achieve.

So it is, that first of all, the living organism must be properly trained. Next, *mana ānandam* is the satisfaction of mind, the human individual has the intellectual curiosity, has the eagerness to understand the mysteries of true existence and when he looks at the mysteries of existence, he feels most bewildered that in this world which is perpetually passing away, there is something which does not pass away. When he exposes himself to this all-pervading mystery of existence, it is then that the human individual gets what we call tranquillity of spirit—*shānti samriddham*. The body, the mind and spirit—they constitute the trinity—they constitute the human being. No education can be regarded as complete if it neglects any one of these three sides of human nature and I have no doubt that in this institution all these sides are cared for; and the highest of all is the spiritual equilibrium, a kind of spiritual dimension which you have to grow in yourself, to which are subordinated the intellectual satisfaction and the physical needs themselves. That should be the proper ideal of education. It is always a pleasure for me to come to institutions where the young are being trained. In spite of the antiquity of our country, I look upon India as a young nation. We may have four to five thousand years of history but yet today we have all the signs of youth, the conflicting purposes, the ferment of thought. After all, what is age? Age is what a man feels, what he feels about himself, and what do we feel of our country—that our country today is in its youth. It has all the symptoms of youth, the restlessness of youth, the ferment of youth, the resilience of youth, the capacity to advance into the future. It has also got the immaturity of youth. Several things are happening which show that we still are very, very young—very young in the sense that we are not able to control ourselves, properly and adequately and that we do things that indicate not the wisdom of age, but the restlessness and the non-restraint of youth itself. So it is, we regard ourselves as a young nation and we want to work as in the spirit of youth with all the resilience which we happen to possess. The problems that are facing us are so many. We are trying to build up a democracy in this country.

What is democracy? Democracy is not merely recognizing the

right of the individual to grow to his full stature. It is to recognize the right of the group, the right of any group to have its own way of life—and to chalk out its directions so far as the ultimate things are concerned. This country, from the beginning of her history never adopted an attitude of dogmatism, bigotry; it always welcomed whoever came into this country. We welcomed the Aryans, we welcomed the Dravidians, we welcomed the Buddhists, we welcomed the Jews, we welcomed the Christians, we welcomed the Parsis, we welcomed the Muslims. Today, we are welcoming the Tibetans. I have no doubt that a century later if any one wishes to know what the Tibetan way of life is, he will have to come to this country, where we will build institutions of Tibetology, monasteries where they can practise their own life. It is in this country that Tibet will survive, not in its original homeland or anywhere else. I have no doubt about it. This is the great spirit of this country which advocated the fraternal co-existence of all races, of all religions and of all people whatever their persuasions may be. We belong to the human race. We agree that there is only one race underlying all these distinctions. The great prophets of all religions have spoken to us about the ideals of one humanity, which is above all nations. It is that spirit which has to sustain us during these difficult and critical days. It is that spirit which has to be instilled into our youths when they are in these educational institutions. I do feel that the student unrest and student indiscipline—all these things are mainly traceable to the lack of proper nutriment to the human spirit. If we are able to sustain them properly, to give them food for the spirit, music for the soul, gymnastics for the body, and religion for the whole mind, the whole being, for the whole totality of the human being, we will be able to develop a better nation here. Being a member of a young nation, though physically I may be old, I feel that this country has a future. I have faith in the future of the country.—faith in our young people—faith that they will subordinate all those considerations which divided us from one another to the supreme loyalty to this race. We are at a time when even a race is not supreme, when even the nation cannot be regarded as the highest ideal. Our great prophet of nationalism, Gandhiji, told

us: 'A fallen and prostrate India cannot be of any help to herself or to others. A free and enlightened India can be a help to herself and to the world. I want my country to be free that she may suffer and if necessary die, that humanity may live.' His goal was humanity. No nations are immortal, we are all temporary tenants in this passing planet and when we recognize the transient character of our existence it is our duty to shed sunshine and joy in the path of whomsoever we may meet, wherever we may go. That should be our ideal. So long as we adhere to the strict moral principle we will survive, but if we violate the moral principle we will break against the rock of moral law, and be broken into pieces. So the highest of all is humanity, highest of all is morality, piety. If we develop these qualities, our country will be safe and I hope these qualities will be developed among the youth of this institution.

STELLA MARIS COLLEGE, MADRAS

I am very pleased to take part in this evening's proceedings and declare open the new buildings of this well-known institution. That it fulfils a real need is evident from the fact that there is a large rush for admissions to the College. May I congratulate Rev. Mother Superior and her colleagues on the reputation which they have built up for the College—a reputation which is based on quiet, solid work.

In an institution like this you give your pupils not only intellectual equipment but also a purpose in life. If our youth are to be provided with a chance to live worthy lives as citizens of this free country, we have to fill a spiritual void in their lives. Slickness is not everything. The trouble with most of us is that we grow up learned, agile, but do not have a serious purpose in life. Otherwise we cannot account for our young people feeling bored in a country which is so rapidly changing. After class hours they face emptiness. They are afraid of being alone. They yearn for the collective warmth of crowds. It is

Address at the opening of new buildings, 23 July, 1960

this boredom that leads the young to indulge in activities which are unworthy of them.

An ancient Upaniṣad says, man cannot be satisfied with wealth alone; he cannot be saved by bread alone. There is a spiritual dimension to man's existence which requires to be developed and it is satisfactory to note that in this institution that side is not overlooked. The spirit grows in silence. It is essential to develop a taste for solitude, which makes for self examination, self-criticism. The President of the Royal Society, Sir Cyril Hinshelwood, delivering the tercentenary address at the Albert Hall early this week said, 'The real actors in the drama of these centuries have been individuals, often rare individuals'. The growth of the individual human being is an individual undertaking. It cannot be accomplished by corporations. In our educational institutions we should stimulate and encourage individual initiative.

In a revolutionary age, we require to develop a new outlook, a new philosophy of life, which can hold the country together. Youth expects a lead from the elders, who have to set the proper example and give them words of truth and lessons in behaviour. I do not think that we always set a good example. Whatever may be the difficulties we face, youth is an adventure, a chance for renewal, not a mere repetition of the past. A famous thinker has said, 'life is an offensive against the mechanical repetition of the past'. Whatever may be the faults of the elders, they do not give a justification for the misbehaviour of youth. They have to be better than their elders.

We are working a democracy in our country; democracy means essentially consideration for others, respect for views which we do not share. We must tolerate dissent. Democracy is inconsistent with any kind of direct action. Democracy requires us to adjust our differences by reason and persuasion and to submit to the will of the majority in the hope that one day the minority may become the majority. Democracy does not mean corruption, hypocrisy and abuse of power and privilege. Democracy is rule by moral standards.

In the past we have suffered on account of provincial jealousies, regional feuds, linguistic quarrels, yet our conduct today illustrates the cynical saying that the one thing we learn from history is that we

learn nothing from it. Self-interest prevails over national welfare; caste spirit, local patriotism, regional feelings, group loyalties are rampant today. When passions overtake us we revert to savagery. Recent events in our country make us ashamed of ourselves. We must fight the enemy within.

The unity of India cannot be taken for granted. It is something to be built up systematically. National discipline is the way to national unity and coherence. We must preserve unity and democratic institutions. For achieving these ends a massive educational effort is necessary. Development in agriculture and industry is essential but more essential is the shaping of the minds and hearts of our people. The future of our country needs work, organization, efficiency, sacrifice, from each one of us, the highest and the lowest. In institutions like this we should be taught to subordinate narrow and parochial feelings to the general good of the community. It is my hope that those who go out of this institution will put first things first and contribute to the integration of the varied peoples of the country into a single homogeneous community. This is our greatest need.

I have great pleasure in declaring these buildings open.

ALL SAINTS SCHOOL, HYDERABAD

I am happy to be here and associate myself with the development of this institution which has been working for nearly 105 years. In these many years it has established a great tradition. The famous Dean of St. Paul's, Dean Inge, once remarked that he would not mind if people said that he was not a saint but he would be greatly hurt if any one said that he was not a gentleman. This institution may not have produced all saints but it should feel amply rewarded if it produced gentlemen, men of knowledge and virtue.

A few months ago I had the pleasure of meeting a number of your students who told me that your school motto was 'Virtue alone ennobles'. Our national motto is *satyameva jayate*. Truth

25 July, 1960

alone prevails. Virtue is the embodiment of truth in life. Satya and dharma are the inward and outward aspects of the same reality. Dharma or virtue is not a cloak which we occasionally put on. It should be ingrained in our lives, in our thoughts, words and deeds. We do not wish to train mere specialists and technicians but civilized human beings. We do want engineers, scientists, teachers but they should not cease to be human and humane. Right education will impart not only knowledge and skill but also humanity and virtue. We cannot overlook the need for these when we remember the elusive and vulnerable character of youth.

You aim at all-round education—music, dramaturgy, sports. You are training the intellect, cultivating the imagination and refining the emotions.

Separatist, tribal, clannish and provincial tendencies are on the increase. Under their influence we are tempted to become angry and violent. Violence and democracy are inconsistent with each other. For good government we need selfless leadership, honest and efficient civil service, disciplined soldiers and policemen, skilled workers and peasants. It is in educational institutions that we can train these. You are rightly proud of the many students you have sent out for service in other parts of India and the world. I hope you will continue to send out men for national and international service. You have now nearly 2,500 pupils but it is essential to attend to every one of them.

DELHI UNIVERSITY

WE are happy to welcome Professor Theodor Heuss into our academic community. He has done us a great honour by consenting to join it. He stands for freedom, peace and democracy in the modern world. His shining honesty, intellectual integrity, moral sensitivity and above all his love of humanity

Chancellor's Address at Special Convocation admitting Professor Theodor Heuss to an Honorary Degree of Delhi University, 4 November, 1960

have endeared him not only to the German people but to all cultivated persons of the world.

He presided with great distinction for ten years over the rebirth of liberal, democratic Germany. He gave a sense of purpose and self-respect to his country.

Germany is a country which has held a special place in the hearts of the Indian people. German orientalists have made the heritage of India accessible to the whole world and have helped to carry Indian thought into the stream of world culture.

He referred to our two great leaders, Gandhi and Tagore. They were not mere national leaders. They belong to the great priesthood of humanity who lift humanity from the cave and the jungle to a cleaner and clearer air. They undertook the rarer and the greater task of lifting man out of the stale air of common life to regions where the great verities are seen undimmed by self or sophistry. Man's ordinary existence then becomes a life, a passion, a power.

He referred to Schopenhauer's death centenary which falls this year. We have in his case an illustration of international intellectual co-operation at its best. The Upaniṣads were composed by Indian seers. Dara Shikoh, the son of Emperor Shah Jahan, translated fifty of them into Persian. A French writer, Anquetil Duperron, brought out a Latin translation and Schopenhauer read the Latin translation and said that the Vedas, Plato and Kant were his spiritual teachers. He agreed that the end of human endeavour is in the ascension of man's natural will to a spiritual level, which expresses itself in disinterested knowledge and compassion. He effected a reconciliation of Western thought with Eastern religions, of secular affairs with spiritual ideals.

Professor Heuss, once again I wish to say how pleased we are to have you with us, for your greatest concern, as it is ours, is the making of true human beings.

UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE, ELEVENTH SESSION, PARIS

IN the few minutes I have, I do not propose to give any detailed account of the work of UNESCO in India and its assistance to us for educational and industrial development. I shall invite your attention to the valuable work which UNESCO can do in this troubled and distracted world, when tensions are mounting, nuclear weapons are increasing and arms race expanding. Whether in education, technical assistance or scientific research, UNESCO is demonstrating how the nations of the world are caught in a web of international influences and commitments. The nations are today a part of the world-wide human society but that society has not the structure and safeguards of a civilized community. Within a nation we live under the rule of law. We share common purposes and promote general welfare. All these are lacking in the international world. We do not aim at the general welfare but pursue our national interests. We do not seek a world under law but are interested in our national security. It is for us in this organization to articulate a common purpose for a frightened humanity and strive to build on its basis fundamental international institutions.

The present state of armed peace is untenable and is gradually becoming impossible. Each nation is spending on armaments much more than what it does on education, science and culture. We immobilize a large part of the nation's manhood and create more evils than we are able to cure.

The abolition of war is the most important thing for the growth of education, science and culture. If we do not bring about a new climate of opinion, total annihilation may overtake us. If we go on experimenting with nuclear weapons, manufacturing them, stock-piling them, keeping them in readiness, sooner or later a time will come when some of them will go off. It might be a deliberate attempt by one of the great powers or an accidental blunder by some subordinate officer or inefficient novice. We cannot assume the basic rationality of human nature.

15 November, 1960

It is the duty of man to pass life on to the next generation unimpaired if not enhanced. Life is a gift from past generations and we have no right to maim it or destroy it. The radio-active fall-out will have dangerous effects on the future generations, but in our blindness we are continuing to pollute earth, water and air.

The mere banning of nuclear tests or even the destruction of nuclear weapons is not enough. We can destroy the weapons but we cannot destroy the knowledge, the know-how. If hostilities break out it is virtually certain that nuclear weapons will be used sooner or later. We will be misleading the peoples of the world if we suggest that in a global conflict nuclear weapons can be avoided. Even small nations can learn it. No system of inspection and control can prevent the danger. There is no security, therefore, for any nation, small or big, in a divided and suspicious world. War has to be given up and disputes among nations should be settled by peaceful methods, by negotiation, adjustment or arbitration. If we are opposed to international agreements, if we continue to rely on military strength and the threat of destruction, catastrophe is inevitable. Intemperate words, cynical threats, unrestrained wrangles in the General Assembly of the United Nations a few weeks ago, show that the world is passing through a crisis of stupidity and violence which is all too obvious. That is why nothing concrete has happened in spite of the declared intentions of the great Powers.

What is necessary is the dissipation of the clouds of fear, suspicion and mistrust. The great Powers are suffering from a persecution complex. The Soviet Union feels that the socialist countries are being encircled. America does not forget Pearl Harbour and is afraid of a surprise attack even during the process of disarmament. Both groups suffer from a deep feeling of insecurity. Governments do not rely on the good faith of others. This is why they employ spies, speak untruths and half-truths, bribe employees of other governments, break confidences, send espionage planes and meddle in other people's affairs. We all condemn these practices but we do not hesitate to adopt them. Unless we replace fear by trust, there does not seem to be much hope.

In November 1959, the Executive Board of UNESCO requested the Director General to continue to take all appropriate measures to bring about the formation in all member States of a climate of opinion favourable to general and complete disarmament. By enabling the nations of the world to work on international cultural projects, scientific research, educational and technical development of under-developed countries we are attempting to liberate thought, increase hope, foster understanding and pacify the minds of men.

Bernard Shaw gave an address a few years before his death in Cambridge and described his vision of the future. An old cleric got up and asked about the forces which could implement his ideals. Bernard Shaw answered with a bland smile, 'Human selfishness, human selfishness'. Man's instinct to survive is there and it is bound up with a sense of human solidarity. The knowledge that human survival depends on the practice of tolerance may make us practise this virtue. Differences which divide the great nations become slight when we look at the threat with which humanity is faced. Our pretensions to ultimate truth and our conviction of the universal applicability of our own version of the truth are found in politics, as in religion. Gandhiji said: 'I shall have no pleasure from living in this world if it is not united.' It will be united only if we learn to reconcile different civilizations and religious traditions, with their different pre-suppositions and values, with their different economic systems and political responsibilities. We should be loyal to each other across creedal, cultural or political frontiers. The East-West project is one significant attempt towards the development of this great ideal of cultural solidarity. Now that the United States has a new President we very much hope that the great leaders will soon meet, understand each other's fears, suspicions and difficulties and strive to remove them, and save the world from the threat of annihilation.

We should try to diminish the tensions that give rise to military conflicts. One of them is the political subjection of peoples. The United Nations General Assembly recently passed a resolution demanding immediate political independence for colonies which are still under foreign rule. That the British withdrew from India

in good order and good grace remains a unique historical achievement. They have followed up their policy with regard to many States in Africa and Asia. Yet, there-are States which are under the political domination of foreign Powers. Nationalism in Africa is on the ascendant. A young nationalist author, Albert Tévoedjre writes: 'in the name of African women wandering for miles to find a bare sustenance for their children, in the name of African urchins whom hunger has forced to become habitual liars, in the name of African soldiers drafted to fight in North Africa as shock troops in the attack on the life and liberty of other weak peoples, subject peoples demand equality and the end of colonial rule'.

The whole structure of subjection and tyranny depends on the foundation of ignorance. Today ideas of freedom and progress are spreading all over the world, and the mind of man is not so impoverished and crippled as it used to be.

We welcome the new States which have attained political freedom, but this freedom cannot be effective unless these nations are enabled to raise the living standards of their people. Political freedom should be accompanied by a simultaneous liberation of the peoples from social and economic ills. The new political leaders are charged with the responsibility which is at once formidable and inspiring. Problems cannot await slow solutions. Human urgencies are acute. Education, health, housing, industrial development, require to be speeded up. Advanced nations are in a position to help the new free nations with doctors, engineers, chemists and agriculturists. They should not work up the highly excitable peoples of the African States into civil strife so that they might themselves maintain their influence, if not power, indefinitely. Strong currents of passion are sweeping across the awakened States, threatening to submerge the liberties won with difficulty and cherished with respect. Advanced Powers who have retreated from control should assist and not retard the growth of social and educational facilities.

We live in a world of sharpened social consciousness. New States should have at their service not only modern science but also modern social conscience. Countries outside Europe and North America which are under-developed, un-modernized, almost wholly

lacking in the capital they need for growth require the assistance which our organization and other agencies of the United Nations can give them. The gap between the world's rich and the poor should be bridged. Economic development is as important for security as military strength.

Things are never settled until they are settled right. So long as race discrimination is on the Statute Books of certain States peace will be precarious. The emotions of large parts of the world are directly and deeply involved in this problem of racial discrimination. A wounded soul is the greatest danger to peace and we have such souls in large numbers in Africa and Asia. If constitutional processes prove to be of no avail, violent upheavals will result. History is made up of classical tragedies of great leaders who are doomed by their insensitivity to the changes of social consciousness and political climate.

Here in UNESCO though we are not directly concerned with disarmament and the progress of new States, we deal with the fundamentals of living, with the mobilization of intellectual resources, with the direction of science to creative ends, with the expansion of facilities for education and with the increase of beauty in human lives. These are in keeping with the full dimensions of the human spirit. Nations should compete with one another in excellence and not in missiles and rockets. The international campaign to safeguard the monuments of Nubia threatened with submersion as a result of the construction of the Aswan High Dam recognizes the world's interest in great works of art. Man should see and live by a higher standard of loyalty to the world community.

We are living in one of the great liberating periods of history. Many factors are blended in this movement—resistance to tyranny, to colonial domination, to racial intolerance and the great struggle for the improvement of human conditions.

Culture is progressive subjugation of the animal in man. Man should function as an animal-tamer. The great prophets teach us the courage of suffering without inflicting pain, of dying without killing. We need loving kindness, universal charity.

I have no doubt that this earth will outlast our self-destructive impulses and will create new men and women whose loyalty will be to the human community.

UNESCO TAGORE CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS, PARIS

THE centenary of the birth of the great Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore belongs to next year, to be chronologically exact. But the General Conference of UNESCO will not be held before the end of 1962; so we are having this meeting today.

Rabindranath has been the most renowned of all the poets that Asia has produced in recent times. His works have been translated into many languages and have inspired writers and scholars, lovers of art and literature in many countries.

A poet of genius, he broke with previous tradition in poetry, music and painting. Tradition is not only concord with the past but also freedom from the past. He perceived relationships hitherto unnoticed and gave humanity his vision of one world. His great gifts of imagination and art were used for fostering faith in the unity of man and forging bonds of kinship with others. His Visvabharati is an international university where the whole world becomes one home.

yatra viśvam bhavati ekaṇiḍam

It is only appropriate that we in UNESCO should celebrate his birth centenary. For me it is a special honour to inaugurate this function for I enjoyed for over a generation the poet's friendship and affection.

The poet had a vital and radiant personality. Ernest Rhys in his book *Everyman Remembers* writes: 'One afternoon a knock announced a caller who proved to be one of the most strangely impressive of them all. When I went into the hall as the maid opened the door, there paused on the threshold, a tall grey-bearded figure attired in a close grey robe that fell to the feet. For a moment I was

Inaugural Address, 16 November, 1960

abashed. It was as if the prophet Isaiah had come to one's door.'

It is often said that the judgments we pass on our contemporaries are somewhat distorted. Sometimes we are under obligations to friendship. We lack the necessary perspective and, according to our mood and taste, disparage or eulogize those whose work is close to us. Some who appear important today may lose their significance later; others who seem to be unimportant today may acquire great significance later. It may well be that Tagore's vision may be prophetic of the future of India and of the world.

Tagore's message for us in India is another illustration of a recurring phenomenon: that India, weighed down by history, prostrated by invasions, endlessly vacillating from greatness to decline, recovers her spirit century after century by her own power of self-renewal. When times are out of joint, wise men arise and warn us about our lapses. The seers of the Upaniṣads, the Buddha and Mahāvira, Aśoka and Akbar, Kabīr and Nānak in their own periods recalled us to the fundamental spiritual truths and castigated us for our deviations from them. We are fortunate in having had a few men and women in our own lifetime who stand out for their wisdom and courage, who have refined man's spirit and altered his outlook.

With great modesty, Tagore says: 'Consciously or unconsciously I may have done many things that were untrue, but I have never uttered anything false in my poetry—that is the sanctuary where the deepest truths of my life emerge'.¹ He always aimed higher and higher. 'The song that I came to sing remains unsung to this day.'

Tagore had not so much a message to deliver as a vision to set forth. This is the rarer and greater task—to lift man out of the stale air of common life to regions where the great verities are seen undimmed by self or sophistry and man's ordinary existence becomes a life, a passion and a power.

The divine image is given to man. It is the inescapable foundation of his own existence. It is natural for him to strive to elevate himself above earthly things, to go out from the world of sense, to free his

soul from the burdens of selfish existence and gross materialism, to break through from the outer darkness to the enlightening world of the spirit.

Human nature contains a need for truth that will not allow it to rest permanently in error or falsehood, a thirst for righteousness which will never allow it to tolerate for long unrighteousness.

Religious idealism has been the central feature of India's life and history. Rabindranath as a dreamer and an artist was an exponent of it. The *Times Literary Supplement* observed about him: 'Perhaps no living poet was more religious and no man of religion was more poetical than this great Indian.' At a time when many intellectuals were satisfied with personal happiness, cosmic despair, stoic detachment, mild if not militant atheism, Rabindranath felt convinced about the value and validity of the spiritual ideals set forth in the ancient classics of India. He was aware that the true religion taught by them, calm and strong, with no intolerance or vanity, appealed to peoples beyond India.

'To know my country one has to travel to that age when she realized her soul and thus transcended her physical boundary, when she revealed her being in a radiant magnanimity which illumined the Eastern horizon.' He revived hidden national memories and gave the people pride and dignity.

'To me,' he says, 'the verses of the Upaniṣads and the teachings of the Buddha have ever been things of the spirit, and therefore endowed with boundless vital growth; and I have used them both in my own life and in my preaching as being instinct with individual meaning for me, as for others, and awaiting for their confirmation my own special testimony, which must have its value because of its individuality'.¹

The religious quest starts with a conflict in human nature. None lives for ever: nothing lasts for long. How are we to gain security in this fragile world? This very yearning for security suggests that there is something in us which is superior to nature. Man is a bridge between two worlds. 'At one pole of my being I am one with stocks and stones... but at the other pole of my being I am

separate from all'.¹ There is this tension and to overcome it requires toil and suffering.

'Obstinate are the trammels, but my heart aches when I try to break them... The shroud that covers me is a shroud of dust and death; I hate it, yet hug it in love.'²

These passages affirm the reality of an Eternal behind the world. Rabindranath describes God as *śivanī*, *śāntam*, *advaitam*—perfection, peace and non-duality. He is both personal and superpersonal. He is immanent and transcendent. 'To me religion is too concrete a thing, though I have no right to speak about it. But if ever I have somehow come to realize God, or if the vision of God has ever been granted to me, I must have received the vision through this world, through men, through trees and birds and beasts, the dust and the soil.'³

In the spirit of the Upaniṣads, Rabindranath makes out that the Supreme dwells in each man. Ideas take shape by a hidden alchemy at work within the artist. 'Whatever I truly think, truly feel, truly realize—its natural destiny is to find true expression. There is some force in me which continually works towards that end, but is not mine alone—it permeates the universe. When this universal force is manifested within an individual, it is beyond his control and acts according to its own nature; and in surrendering our lives to its power is our greatest joy.'⁴

'It may seem to be egoistic. But this life-impulse I speak of belongs to a personality which is beyond my ego... I must be true to it, even at the cost of what men call happiness, at the risk of being misunderstood, forsaken and hated.'⁵

It is because the Divine is incarnate in all existence that we are able to reach truth and attain purity. We have to look for our true wealth and power in the inner soul. It is the inward culture that 'gives self-possession in the face of loss and danger, self-sacrifice without counting the cost or hoping for gain, defiance of death,

1. *Sādhana*, p. 69

2. *Gītāñjali*, 28

3. *Viśvabhāratī Quarterly*, August-October 1949, p. 88

4. *Glimpses of Bengal*

5. *Letters to a Friend*

acceptance of countless social obligations that we owe to men as social beings.¹

Rabindranath stood for the fullness of life, the development of the different sides of life. *Mokṣa* is not renunciation of the world. It is the proportioned development of body, mind and spirit.

The self-possessed soul cannot be inactive: 'Our master himself has joyfully taken upon him the bonds of creation; he is bound with us for ever.'² So long as there is suffering in the world the religious man's work is in the world.

Asceticism is a frame of mind, a spirit of detachment, *nivṛtta-rāgasya gṛhaṁ tapovanam*. For the man of detachment, his home is a hermitage. It is not essential to give up home life. 'No, my friends, I shall never leave hearth and home, and retire into the forest solitude, if rings no merry laughter in its echoing shade and if the end of no saffron mantle flutters in the wind; if its silence does not deepen my soft whispers. I shall never be an ascetic.'³ Again,

Deliverance is not for me in renunciation;
I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight.
No, I will never shut the doors of my senses.
The delights of sight and hearing and touch will bear thy delight.
Millions of living beings make up the vast fair of this world,
and you ignore it all as a child's play
To be one with God is to be one with the universe.

Gītāñjali has this:

He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground
and where the pathmaker is breaking stones.
He is with them in sun and in shower and
his garment is covered with dust
Put off thy holy mantle and even like him
come down on the dusky soil.

The simple religion of spiritual vision, purity of heart and harmony with the universe got choked in the course of centuries and led to the decline of the country. Rabindranath rebelled against the orthodoxies surrounding him and traced India's fall to the clash of castes and creeds, to indifference to the disinherited of the earth.

1. *Nationalism*
2. *Gītāñjali*, 11
3. *Gardener*, p. 78

The truly religious men have intense love for the oppressed and the persecuted, for the misfits, for the non-conformists, for the homeless and the rejected. We have suffered on account of our meek submission to social restrictions and lazy reliance on traditional authorities which are incongruous anachronisms in our age. The greatest enemies of nations are not their foreign foes but the enemies who dwell within them. We have to be saved from ourselves.

O my unfortunate country, those whom you have debased,
they shall drag you down to their own level
till their shame is yours;
Those whom you have deprived of their human right,
who stand before you but find no room in your lap,
they shall drag you down to their own level
till their shame is yours.

There is nothing untouchable in the great body of God, the world of men. His love goes to every creature, the naked and the hungry, the sick and the stranger.

Here is thy footstool and there rest thy feet
where live the poorest and lowliest and lost.

Again, 'When they had struck thee and thou wert pierced it pained me to the quick.'

Rabindranath asks his people to get back to the original doctrine, guard against automatism and keep life free and creative. 'The wakeful, ageless God of India calls today on our soul—the soul that is measureless, the soul that is undefeated, the soul that is destined to immortality, and yet the soul which lies today in the dust, humbled by external authority, in the fetters of blind observances. With blow upon blow, pang upon pang, does he call upon it, *ātmanam viddhi*, know thyself.¹

At Santiniketan or the Abode of Peace which his father Devendranath Tagore established as a centre for meditation, Rabindranath founded a school which reminds us of forest hermitages where teachers and pupils sought after and attained human fulfilment by wise thinking, righteous living and earnest faith. There no life

should be taken, no idol worshipped, and no irreverent word spoken against any people's worship or deity. Though Hinduism is the background of all the activities in the school, the birthdays of the great prophets, the Buddha, the Christ, Muhammad, Nānak, are celebrated.

Rabindranath loved India because of her ideals. He says: 'I love India but my India is an idea and not a geographical expression. Therefore I am not a patriot. I shall seek my compatriots all over the world.' Though Indian in inspiration Tagore's work had a universal appeal. India has been known all these centuries for her dignity of soul, valour and piety, tolerance and hospitality. There were occasions when she was not loyal to them.

Rabindranath Tagore asks us to preserve the old attitude of keeping firm our own framework and receiving and adapting outer influences. 'It is idle mendicancy to discard our own and beg for the foreign', while at the same time 'it is the abjectness of poverty to dwarf ourselves by rejecting the foreign'. Rabindranath condemned India's imitation of the West. He called that India 'the eternal rag-picker at other peoples' dustbins'. Imitation, he says, is 'like dressing our skeleton with another man's skin, giving rise to eternal feuds between the skin and the bones at every movement'. India should cease to be in bondage to others but feel free to accomplish her own important mission of getting the peoples of the world together. Unity is truth and division is evil. 'Remember how India has ever kept alive her power of binding together. She has ever established some sort of harmony amidst all kinds of difficulties and conflicts and hence she has survived till now. I have full faith in that India. Even now that India is slowly building up a marvellous reconciliation of the old order with the new. May each of us consciously join in that work, may we be never misled by dullness or revolt into resisting it.'

Rabindranath worked for one supreme cause, the union of all sections of humanity in sympathy and understanding. The eternal personality of man can spring into being only from the harmony of all peoples. Yet in his own lifetime he saw the world wade through seas of blood, oceans of tears bitterer often than death due to man's

blindness and folly. Whenever civilization decays and dies it is due to causes which produce insensitivity to human values. It goes down when our souls are deadened by greed and materialism.

In 1941, a few weeks before his death, on his eightieth birthday, he wrote an essay, *The Crisis of Civilization*, in which he said: 'I had at one time believed that the springs of civilization would issue out of the heart of Europe. But today, when I am about to quit the world, that faith has gone bankrupt altogether. As I look around, I see the crumbling ruins of a proud civilization strewn like a vast heap of futility.' Yet he did not lose faith in the future of man. He continued: 'And yet I shall not commit the grievous sin of losing faith in man. I would rather look forward to the opening of a new chapter in his history after the cataclysm is over and the atmosphere rendered clean with the spirit of service and sacrifice.' Earth—worn by the ages, racked by rain and storm, exhausted—yet is ever ready to produce so that life may go on. Human nature is tough. It may survive even a nuclear war, though it may be at a frightful cost of suffering and degradation. It is in the hope, however uncertain, of averting this that Tagore calls for a profound revolution in our modes of thought and behaviour. We are not the victims of fate, 'To all things else You give, from me You ask.'¹ It is neither accident nor fate but it is our insufficiency that has got us to where we are. We have to take the responsibility for the future, build a new society, rational, civilized, human, by destroying the springs of human action which lie deep in ignorance, hatred and selfishness.

In a poem written on his birthday in 1937 Rabindranath maintained that it was his humanism, his love for the suffering, the exploited and the humiliated that had raised him high above the wreck and ruin of a dying civilization.

Lo, there he comes—almighty man,
There is a tremor of expectation
in every shoot of grass
in the dust of the earth.
The conch-shell blows in the land of the gods
and the trumpet of victory in the land of man.

Lo, there comes the hour of the great birth.
 Today, all the ramparts of the dark night
 are crushed under the dust.
 To the call of the new life
 come reassuring echoes
 from the peaks of the sunrise
 'Fear not, fear not!
 Victory, victory, victory, to resurrected man,'
 echoes the cry across the mighty heavens.

The poet ends a letter to Gandhi written on 12 April, 1919, with the following invocation:

"Give me the supreme courage of love, this is my prayer, the courage to speak, to do, to suffer at thy will, to leave all things or be left alone....

Give me the supreme faith of love, this is my prayer, the faith of life in death, of the victory in defeat, of the power hidden in the frailness of beauty, of the dignity of pain that accepts hurt, but disdains to return it."

What the world needs today is universal charity.

In Hungary, near the Balaton Lake where he recouped from his illness, he planted a tree on November 8, 1926, and wrote in the Guest Book the following lines:

When I am no longer on this earth, my tree
 Let the ever-renewed leaves of thy spring murmur to the wayfarers:
 'The poet did love while he lived'.

In all his writings of great diversity and depth, he expressed the quality of the individual spirit, the spirit that is indestructible. In his best poems there are things which move the heart and fill the mind and which will live for long. As for each man's work, 'everything will pass away', said Tolstoy, 'money, great possessions, even kingdoms, all are doomed. But if in our work there remains one grain of true art, it will live for ever.'

*jayanti te sukr̥tino rāsasiddhāḥ kavīśvarāḥ
 nāsti yeṣāṃ yaśaḥ kāye jarāmaraṇajam bhayaṇi*

ROORKEE UNIVERSITY

WE have heard with great interest the Report of the University for the year 1959-60. It shows the steady growth of the University in many different directions. The authorities of the University deserve our cordial congratulations. I went round the University this forenoon and saw the developmental activities.

To the graduates of the year I offer my congratulations and best wishes for the future. Your predecessors from this College, and later this University, have rendered enlightened service to the country and established great traditions. It is for you to maintain these traditions, if not enhance them.

Engineering which is the application of scientific knowledge and utilization of matter and energy for human progress has many disciplines included in it. It has made tremendous advances in recent years but unfortunately we have not made many contributions to this technological revolution. We are still importing machinery and adopting methods developed in other countries. You have now increased facilities for research and I have no doubt that our engineers will make significant contributions in the future.

It was a pleasure to know that in some departments you have members from other countries of Asia and Africa.

The motto of your University is that 'without labour nothing can be achieved', '*śramam vinā na kimapi sādhyamī.*' The Prime Minister told us the other day '*āj pariśram: ka! lābh*'. Hard honest work is the only way to build our country. In this competitive world efficiency and skill are most needed from our engineering graduates. I saw several constructions put up by the students by their '*śramdān*'. Each student, I am told, has to give four hours a week for manual work. This, apparently, contributes to your mental and physical health.

I am grateful to the University for admitting me to its academic community. It is a sign that you in this University regard students of philosophy and literature as not very different from those of science and technology. Scientists and humanists are not two

different species of humanity. Their specialities may be different, but their outlook on the world is not. Bernard Shaw was referring to conditions in which science and religion were both misunderstood: 'There is nothing which people will not believe nowadays if only it be presented to them as Science and nothing they will not disbelieve if it be presented to them as Religion'. Science is not opposed to the life of spirit; it is itself its expression.

Each human being has a rational and a spiritual side. Literature and philosophy keep up the mind's cherished gift, the gift of dream and imagination. It is this very imagination which creates sciences and inspires literature. The qualities essential for scientific discovery and literary creation are the same, vigorous imagination, passion and dedication.

Each civilization has also a rational and a spiritual side. Our country has had a good record of scientific achievement. Scientific progress got arrested some centuries ago and we are today attempting to make up for lost time. The establishment of scientific laboratories, technological institutes, engineering colleges, is evidence of this new emphasis. Science holds up before our vision not only immeasurable triumphs but also great promise for the future. There is so much that requires to be done in our country. It is not enough for us to have a dam here or a factory there. The whole country has to be modernized. Villagers have to be taught to reconstruct themselves.

The great revolutions of the age are marked by the emergence into freedom of many parts of the world, Asia, Africa and South America, the spread of scientific knowledge and technological methods, and the eagerness of the under developed nations to achieve higher standards of life.

The day is not far distant when all the countries which are now under colonial rule will be independent of foreign control.

Scientific knowledge has to be used for enriching humanity with creative power and transforming the face of human society and increasing its economic prosperity and spiritual advancement.

But independence is the beginning, not the end of a nation's struggle for freedom. It is the beginning of a process of liberation.

When we attained independence, the extreme backwardness of the country and its low living standards in spite of immense man-power and natural resources provided the greatest challenge to the constructive genius and industry of our people. We are attempting to modernize our society without losing the values of our ancient culture. We wish to use the resources of science and technology to speed up the economic progress and cultural advancement of our people without distinction of caste or colour, race or religion. We should remove the material ills of poverty, want and unemployment of our people, and raise their standards of life.

We live in a world of sharpened social consciousness. The new States have at their service not only the promise of twentieth century science but also the twentieth century social consciousness with all its urges and aspirations. Our problems cannot await the kind of solutions which have been evolved across the centuries for the urgencies are acute. We have put our faith in the democratic methods of government and wish to accelerate our progress within their framework. On all sides we see today the social and economic awakening of our country, its impact on a people who had seemed lulled into apathy by centuries of foreign rule and fatalistic acquiescence. Peace of the human race will not be secure if the disparities between the rich and the poor, the developed and the under-developed nations are not removed. When we say that it is the obligation of the advanced nations to help the backward ones, it is not a matter of kindness or charity, but of justice and atonement, a recognition that we are all members of one human family, the recognition of a feeling of comradeship and equality among nations.

Political and scientific revolutions should be combined if we are to have a family of nations whose members enjoy equal access to the achievements of science and the resources of industry. Then there will be peace and co-operation among the peoples of the world irrespective of their race and colour.

The centuries we have lived through should create in us a fundamental trust in the values of the spirit. Matter and energy do not contain an explanation of their existence. They need a cause. If we remove the mystery from the world we have a vacuum in our hearts

which we fill with the thrills and pleasures of an otherwise meaningless existence. The whole aim of great culture is to raise man up to a status which he has not yet attained, to lead him to wisdom accompanied by scientific truth, *jñānam vijñāna sahitaṁ*, knowledge restrained by wisdom. We are all barbarians striving to civilize ourselves. Why is it that in prosperous societies where the living standards are high, marital casualties, juvenile delinquency, crime rates, suicide figures and neurotic cases are on the increase? The good things of life are not enough. For refining the emotions and socializing our natures education in humanities broadly interpreted is essential. If young people suffer from a lack of purpose, the fault is with the system of education.

We are apprehensive of the devastating effect of nuclear warfare but there is no inevitable necessity for it. The dangerous, disorderly, unpredictable world only shows the need for a growth in humanity along with technological progress. It is not enough to become technologically civilized. Rational science and irrational minds may go together. With nuclear weapons which will make world war suicidal, it is assumed that governments will no longer take risks. But experience shows that governments do take fatal risks. We cannot assume that they have become wise. That is why we live in a world of fear, bewilderment and nervous apprehension in spite of the marvellous achievements of science and technology.

In our educational programme, whether it be in institutions for liberal arts or theoretical sciences or engineering and technology, we should have a proper balance between science and the humanities. Every specialist should have a broadly cultivated mind. We should be educated as full human beings.

The other day I happened to be in Boston and was pleased to find that in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology there is provision for the teaching of philosophy and comparative religion.

You have a temple here, Sarasvati Mandir, under construction. Its presence is evidence of the recognition of man's spiritual urges. Your lives have to be consecrated to the pursuit of truth in the service of man's expanding welfare and enduring peace. You must have something sacred in your life and be loyal to it whatever you may

do. Otherwise your life will become wayward and unprincipled. You should not lose your foothold within yourself. I wish you all well.

DELHI UNIVERSITY

IN the history of any nation there is a rhythm, a sequence of pauses for consolidation and fresh bursts of energy. Today our country is passing through a revolution, a period of adventure and imagination in coping with great perils and high opportunities. It is being transformed at the pace of a revolution by technical and social change. We have to build a society in which there is social justice and fairness. This revolution has different aspects.

Politically every citizen has the right to participate in decisions which affect the future of his country. But until education becomes general this right cannot be properly exercised. Democracy is opposed to social and political totalitarianism. In a parliamentary democracy it may not be possible for us to obtain unanimity, but differences of opinion should be decided in a peaceful way. Tolerance is essential. Differences should not be allowed to tear the body politic. Respect for the freedom of every human being is the essential basis of political democracy. Unfortunately in our country today we find that we have not acquired as yet the true spirit of democracy. Differences become conflicts, angry words develop into violent action. The students should learn to act with restraint and tolerate differences. Great opportunities and little minds do not go together. I hope that in the class room, the library, the playfield and the Union the true democratic spirit is observed.

All nations in the world today are trying to approximate to one another in the domain of civilization. We realize that our life can be better than it is. Amelioration of the human condition is possible by rapid industrial development and economic changes. There is no easy way out of poverty to any people. This is an age of science and technology and our universities are providing scientific and techno-

logical education to some extent. This has to be speeded up. National Development Services and Community Projects are bringing about a social revolution in the country in a democratic spirit. Science helps us to know the world in which we live, which is changing very rapidly even in our own lifetime.

Our boys and girls should be socially educated. The emergence of women from political and economic passivity imposed on them by ancient social traditions, the break-down of the caste traditions, are symptoms of the social changes occurring in our country. Today it is not a question of merely serving society. We can serve it best by constantly remaking it. Since men are prone to resist change until the need becomes imperative, this need of reshaping of society is not always welcomed. In our country social mechanisms must be adapted to changing conditions if we are to survive and flourish. Our students must be politically informed, industrially skilled and socially educated.

While in our Constitution we discourage social barriers and fences, the invisible ones are hard to pass. We should see to it that no individual is crippled by social disabilities which he has to face.

The removal of political, economic and social barriers is intended to help the human being to develop his freedom of the spirit. We may not be able to answer the great questions of human destiny but we cannot help raising them. An unexamined life, an emotionally banal life is not worthy of a human being. In our country we have always admired great saints, artists and philosophers. The information which we acquire in a University should become insight, knowledge must grow into wisdom, *tejasvināvadhītamastu*. Without this spiritual anchorage, man becomes wayward and unprincipled. Many of the troubles within the nation and the world are due to the lack of spiritual vision. Our international status ultimately depends on our national strength.

Are we supplying to the nation, to the professions and the industry, the people that the country needs? Are we producing men and women of principle, vision and application who are equipped to serve the country rather than their own personal interests? Unfortunately, love of power and personal ambition seem to dominate

many of us. We should be on our guard against this great temptation.

We are living in the greatest age of human progress. The achievements of the last 50 years exceed those of the last five thousand. We cannot afford to carry dead wood. The ultimate question we ask is: does our education match the demands of the changing world of science and imagination? Does it give rise to a knowledge of the essentials of civilization? We cannot be deserters from the future of the world. We should blaze new paths, uphold new causes, discover new truths and nourish new ideals.

The staff and the authorities of the University should set an example of integrity, efficiency and upright behaviour in the selection of the staff, in the distribution of awards and scholarships, in all their dealings with students. I hope it is being done here.

NATIONAL MUSEUM, DELHI

I AM happy to be here today and inaugurate the new building for the National Museum. It has been in existence for the last 11 years and the present building is only the first stage of the planned structure. I have no doubt it will attract our people and visitors from abroad in considerable numbers in the years to come. The Museum should give a complete picture of the rich cultural heritage of India. Students and children should be encouraged to visit the Museum.

As the Minister has just said, it has 17 galleries, entailing a walk of about a mile and contains excavated materials from Harappā, Mohenjo-Dāro, Taxilā, Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, sculptures in stone of different ages and copies of wall paintings from Ajantā and other cave temples, textiles, decoratives and minor arts, and manuscripts in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. It has altogether about fifty thousand objects. These materials of the past reveal to us the forms of life, of customs, thought and art. These masterpieces reveal that the works and adventures of the human mind are wondrous indeed.

Address at the opening of the new building, 18 December, 1960

In India, the temple, like the church in mediaeval Europe, has been a museum of arts and crafts. The best sculptors and painters offered their masterpieces to the Divine. The temple was a centre not only of religious but also of social, artistic and cultural activities and influenced the life of the people of villages or towns, as the case may be. It was a multi-purpose museum: the seat of learning, the studio of the artist, the workshop of the craftsman, the hall of music and the theatre for the dancer. Art galleries or *citra-śālās* were attached to the princes' palaces and there were also art galleries for the use of the people. In Istanbul there is a great museum located in the building which was once a church and later a mosque. Nowadays every college has a museum; technical institutions—medical, agricultural and engineering—have their own museums.

The Museum will function according to the latest principles of museum technique and will have galleries, storage space, laboratories, library equipment and auditorium for lectures and talks. There will be cultural programmes and exhibitions and there should be trained guides to help visitors. The Museum will cater to the needs of the general public as well as the scholar.

A great museum is a school where we are imperceptibly initiated into history, geography and culture to which the works of art belong. History is a drama of which we will not see the end. We have to retire from life before the play is over. When we visit a museum like this we have a tour of millenniums. It shows the antiquity of our culture, its power of self-renewal and its value for the future. There are certain prominent features which endure. In a world of rapid changes where the landmarks of today are washed away overnight and the landmarks of yesterday become antiques today, stability is something to be admired and wondered at. The museum demonstrates that history is a dynamic process and we can shape the future. We are not the victims of necessity. One of the most fascinating issues in the study of human history is why it is that in certain periods of man's aesthetic development there suddenly occurs a tremendous outpouring of great art. Such periods are those of faith. In these days of trials and errors a visit to a museum will give us tranquil hope, a kind of heroic cheerfulness, a grateful expansion

of the heart. Sāvitrī wrestling with death for the life of Satyavān. Kṛṣṇa playing the flute and taming cattle, the Buddha carrying the sick lamb on his shoulder, give us a new hope that we can remake our world.

CHRIST CHURCH COLLEGE, KANPUR

I CONGRATULATE the management and the staff of the College on the valuable services rendered by the institution to the country and the way in which it has adapted itself to the new conditions. Educational institutions managed by Protestant and Catholic missions have rendered invaluable services to the cause of education in this country. They are still doing that work with great distinction.

We have set before ourselves the ideal of a welfare state. But we are still far from our goal. We find sickness and squalor, poverty and want in many places. We see fury and folly as well as courage and decency. We are lucky in that we have now and then an experience of true greatness. We cannot all be great but we can admire greatness. True greatness consists in having a clear vision and the courage to remain true to that vision at all cost. These are not enough. We must capture the imagination of other men, restore their confidence by communicating to them our vision and our courage. Gandhi taught us to engage ourselves in a battle against poverty, ignorance and man's inhumanity to man. Millions in our country live without purpose or interest and die without notice or consolation. We should fight poverty, want and the meaninglessness of life.

Highly educated men are needed at all stages of the production process. Industrial development and rural reconstruction that we aim at can be helped by colleges. The spirit of inquiry, skill in science, creativity and genius are not the monopoly of any country. If

Address at the opening of the Centenary Buildings, 7 January, 1961

educational institutions function properly these qualities can be developed.

Again, the spirit of true democracy has to be developed among the young. The home, the school and the college are the forms of community life into which young men and women first enter. It is in these that the social qualities essential for a new India require to be developed. If we twist the minds of the young out of shape, they will be a danger to society. The future of democracy in Asia depends on our willingness to submit to discipline, undergo personal sacrifice that the 400 millions of our people may be provided with food, clothing and shelter. Some recent events indicate that our clashes are not about principles but about positions of power. This shows a cynical disregard of democratic principles. We have to be on our guard against this danger. If India is to remain free, united and democratic, educational institutions should train people for freedom, not obedience, for unity and not localism, for democracy, not dictatorship. Our youth should have a sense of purpose.

Whatever subjects we study we should aim at excellence and commitment to truth. All scientists and scholars aim at these ideals. Learning, teaching and research go together. The unity of these is an old concept, *svādhyāya pravacana*. Colleges like this should be homes of intellectual adventure shared in common between the young and the old.

Science, art, literature and religion converge into a single whole, each portraying a facet with a colour of its own, yet each reflecting something of the rest. Science and art no less than religion are concerned with truth and beauty. They are also based on faith. True education must give us a wholeness of view.

Religion gives us spiritual orientation and is then a creative force. Without a spiritual outlook, we slave all our lives at dull jobs and with the boredom of it all feel tricked and burn with resentment. It is essential for us in this industrial age to remember that the world is not only orderly but beautiful and moral, that love and hope belong to it. Religion, however, should not imprison truth in dogmas and enslave the mind. It should liberate the minds of the young. It should be used to work for the basic unity of mankind.

We are still far from effecting a psychological integration of the country. A course in India's cultural heritage is essential at all stages of education. Our young men should become conscious of the value and vitality of our great heritage and be able to discard whatever has been injurious to us in our history. What is living in our culture should be preserved and what is dead should be scrapped.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONTEMPORARY ARTS EXHIBITION, NEW DELHI

I AM happy to be here today and inaugurate the Fourth International Contemporary Arts Exhibition.

Human beings are not merely members of an economic, social or political organization, or units in an anonymous crowd. It is wrong to think that there is freedom only for groups or nations. There is such a thing as freedom of the individual. Any doctrines which exalt the group and suppress the individual are capable of completely destroying mankind.

The human quality beneath the layers of language, social customs, historical traditions, is responsible for all creative achievements. Arts reveal to us the deeper layers of the human soul. Arts, therefore, reveal the transcendental force underlying all existence which we are much too feeble to endure when it is completely unveiled. Art is possible only when heaven touches earth.

If the force of spirit is not there art becomes mere surface entertainment or delight in technical skill. We miss the fire, the stimulus, the magic of art. The works of art appeal to us when they speak of things and ideas which matter to us most. There is a large amount of common language which applies to works of art. In great works we find the qualities of humanity, compassion and power. In true art the soul of a nation is revealed. Nations communicate with each other through the visual arts. There is increasing interest today in

Inaugural Address, 13 February, 1961

the creative achievements of other nations. We had recently exhibitions of Indian art in several European capitals and they were attended by thousands of visitors.

The artist is concerned with the record of the experiences which seem to him most worth having. Civilizations depend not on pride, power and magnificence but on patience, understanding and forbearance. Arts remove the obstacles which are in men's minds in the way of developing unity of mankind. An American lady purchased a Picasso painting for 2,000 dollars and asked Picasso what he meant by the picture. He replied: 'To me it is 2,000 dollars; to you it is a Picasso.' There is today inter-change of art productions throughout the world.

We are celebrating this year the centenary of Rabindranath Tagore who was the beloved of all the Muses. Some of his paintings are being reproduced and will be shown at all the great centres. Those paintings indicate the universality of outlook of the great poet-painter and will contribute to the development of a universal spirit. This exhibition, I have no doubt, will also fulfil a similar objective.

BAL BHAVAN, NEW DELHI

My dear young friends: I am happy to be here with you today and declare open your new building. You have here opportunities for self-expression and the development of your talents, physical, intellectual and artistic.

If you visit our National Museum, you will take a pilgrimage in time and discover that our country has lived quite as long as any other in this world. It has some of the highest mountains and largest rivers in the world. It has had some of the great poets and philosophers, sculptors and painters. The influence of our culture has been widespread. There was a temple of Kṛṣṇa at Memphis which dates about 500 B.C. The symphony in stone at Angkor Vat, the still beauty of Borobudur and the temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu

Speech at the opening of new buildings, 26 March, 1961

there are reminders of India's influence. India's history is an enthralling poem with its periods of glory and gloom, triumph and tragedy. Whenever we emphasized the unity underlying the diversity we prospered. Whenever we failed to do so we declined. It is our duty and privilege to understand the variety and vitality of the culture of this great country.

We are having literature for the young, films for the young and all these should impress on you the elements of greatness of our country. Young minds hunger for greatness, for rare words, for heroic acts that harmonize truth and life. Whatever you learn in this plastic period of your life will endure to the end. Yesterday, we celebrated the birthday of Rama. *Ramāyatīti rāmaḥ*, he who gives joy to all is Rama. He who by his beauty, music and utterance attracts all and arouses devotion in them is Kṛṣṇa, *Karṣati sarvaṁ iti Kṛṣṇaḥ*. Buddha is the Awakened who gives us enlightenment. Joy, beauty, wisdom are the features which the three great *Avatāras* convey to us. They tell us that human beings are born to love and be loved. The stories of Sītā and Sāvitrī are impressive and we should know these at an early age, though their full significance may be understood when you grow up. We have emphasized moral and spiritual values all along our history. We should not do anything wrong even to save our nation.

While we should understand the greatness of our country, we should realize that our country is a part of the larger world. By means of international competitions, the visits of child ambassadors, we make out that the interests and the ambitions of the children are the same the world over. Our Ṛg Veda tells us that the human race is one, *ekaiva mānuṣī jātiḥ*. It asks us to produce *viśva mānavāḥ*, world citizens. By the time you grow up, you will find that the world is becoming a single neighbourhood and you must try to behave in the new world as brothers and sisters. We were told to appreciate other people's ways of life and not despise them. We are all members of the one household of God whatever names we give to God.

mandir masjid tere dhām

iśvara allāh tere nām

You should grow up with a consciousness of the great traditions,

I hope that more children will make use of the amenities available here and grow in an atmosphere of joy and beauty.

STATE FILM AWARDS

I CONGRATULATE the winners of the State Film Awards for the year and hope that these awards will serve as incentives to better work in the future.

India's film industry is growing in quantity as well as in quality. It has won distinctions in international competitions and I hope it will do so in larger numbers. I was pleased to note the other day the London *Times* observe about the documentary we made of the visit of Her Majesty the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh. Comparing our production with the British films on the same subject, the *Times* observed, 'Much more informal in certain respects, more technically ragged than the British films, the Indian film offers in many ways a more vivid and illuminating picture of the Royal tour than the British films do'.

Films attract large numbers of people both in towns and rural areas. Therefore the responsibilities of those who produce them are great. Films are the means of relaxation, enjoyment and instruction. Whatever films we produce, we should aim at elevating the tastes of our people and not merely catering to them. They should plead for a way of life which has the widest appeal to the impoverished peoples of the world. We should interest our film-goers in our attempts to lift our people out of poverty without violence or compulsion. Films should help to effect the cohesion of the nation and the consolidation of the human race.

In some countries it is felt that the contents of films lead to increase in juvenile crimes and the break-down of morals. Sometimes such complaints are heard even in our country. By a determined effort we can improve the character of our films. Despite our wanderings from the path of virtue, we should uphold honour in

Speech at the distribution of the awards, New Delhi, 31 March, 1961

life and stretch out our hands even to our enemies to save them from pain and suffering. Today is Good Friday—a call to us all to subordinate material standards to moral and spiritual values. I hope our film industry will help to raise the moral tone of our country.

TAGORE'S VIEWS ON EDUCATION

I

TAGORE'S versatility is well known. He wrote poems, plays, novels and short stories. He was a great musical composer and director of stage production. In the last years of his life he took to painting also. We will attempt to consider his ideas and practices in education and not his other great achievements.

It is difficult, however, to take one side apart from others in his complex but integrated personality. His educational ideas were rooted in the culture of our country though they were adapted to the conditions of our time.

An enlightened home full of intellectual curiosity and artistic perception gave to Rabindranath Tagore the direction of his thought. He was greatly influenced by the ancient Indian classics, mediaeval Vaiṣṇava literature and Western romantic poets. His father Devendranath Tagore represented the new consciousness which the progressive sections of India began to acquire as the result of their realization of the effete and decadent character of the Indian social system. Rabindranath, called Gurudev, strove to lift the veil of ignorance from the mind of man and give a spiritual orientation to education.

Education deals with individuals. Tagore says: 'I do not put my faith in any new institution, but in the individuals all over the world, who think clearly, feel nobly and act rightly, thus becoming

Speech at Visvabharati, Santiniketan, 9 May, 1961

the channels of moral truth. Our moral ideals do not work with chisels and hammers. Like trees they spread their roots in the soil and their branches in the sky, without consulting any architect for their plans.'

The school at Santiniketan was started in 1901 when the poet was forty years old. For the next forty years he gave to the School and Visvabharati, his life and love. In these institutions Tagore strove to renew the ideals of a bygone age of forest hermitages, of simplicity of life, of clarity of spiritual vision, of purity of heart, of harmony with the universe. Education must include the development of man's spiritual powers and help to build a harmonious, self-confident personality.

II

Those who go into outer space or build nuclear reactors employ scientific knowledge, engineering skill and technological adjustments. So far as these are concerned, there is nothing national about them. The spirit, the ideal, the values we cherish differ from one civilization to another. India should follow her own genius, her own ideals and thus fill her place among the great nations. Our nation should keep her faith with her life-principle and raise herself by suffering.

The school at Santiniketan grew out of an institution which was called *Brahmavidyālaya*. Its aim was the search of truth for its own sake, not for the rewards it may bring, to see the universe as one, to find the beauty of the absolute in whatever way it may be conceived. Initiation into a higher life, into the world of spirit is the central objective. Education is a search for integration, for wholeness. The spirit of India is represented by her great seers from the *ṛsis* of the Upaniṣads to Ramakrishna and Gandhiji; the spirit that proclaims that man's true wealth consists in the wealth of mind, the wealth of soul which gives us self-possession in times of doubt, difficulty and distress. In spite of the gross errors and injustices that we have perpetrated, our seers bear witness to the innocence of mankind.

The problem which faces us today is a spiritual one. What is man? What are the principal threats to his existence? What is he likely to become? What are the changes that have to be effected in him?

Unfortunately in our schools we look upon children as mere raw stuff on which we can impose our unjust views through our powerful wills. Children born healthy are turned into the sick semblance of ourselves. We inject them with our own views and make them as corrupt as we are. Children should understand what is natural, spontaneous, uncorrupt, sound, and reach harmony with themselves and other objects in the world. The monstrous sin of pride makes us commit gross perversions in their nature. The child is unable to defy, to be Promethean, to create goals, to build worlds in conformity with what our moral sense knows to be eternal truths. We must free education from the chains of an evil past, from its ignorance and errors. We must liberate the young from the blind despotism of the old. We must not destroy the right and power of self-direction. Coercion is evil. It destroys what is natural and sacred in the child, the capacity for thinking and acting according to what he knows to be true and good.

If we do not respect the child's personality but misunderstand it, he becomes sullen, rebellious, neurotic, stupid. Tragedies of the human heart result in callousness and crime. Causes of distemper lie within the mind. Children are the promise of the future. They must be trained to reveal the treasure that is in the human soul.

The humanist ideal of 'actualization of his potentialities and the conquest of those distortions of his nature which are caused by his bondage to error and passions' was set forth by the Greeks. Rightly interpreted, this includes the development of the spiritual side of man. The European Renaissance and the Reformation set before man the task of subjugating and controlling nature and man. The present is the most exciting age of science ever known to mankind.

The religious view holds that the world is charged with mystery, that it has an ultimate meaning; that we can rise from the universe of finitude and imperfection to union with Ultimate Reality, the transcendent ground of all existence. This view is suspicious of

science not because of its critical power but because it ties the mind to the natural world. Science purports to give us a disinterested knowledge of the phenomena of nature and this knowledge leads to technological developments. Nuclear physics speaks to us of the secrets of atomic nuclei and the enormous energy stored in them. Its practical results and applications are of tremendous importance. All these enthrall the human mind and tempt it to forget that science provides only means and not ends. When Bertrand Russell observes: 'Asia must come to the rescue of the world by causing Western inventiveness to subserve human ends instead of the basic cravings of suppression and cruelty, to which it has been prostituted by the dominant nations of the present day', he asks us to understand the limitations of science and not yield to the nihilism and despair which are poisoning our generation.

Education aims at making us into civilized human beings conscious of our moral and social responsibilities. We must know the world in which we live, physical, organic and social. We must have an idea of the general plan of the universe and the search for truth. When we attain truth our burdens are lightened and our difficulties are diminished. It lights up our pathway with the radiance of joy. Loved ones pass away; friends fail and possessions disappear, but truth abides. It is the comforter of the comfortless, the consoler of those that are deserted. Truth does not pass away, or fail, or disappear. The clouds may hide the sun but they do not extinguish it. Our aspiration to reach the Supreme is an expression of the pursuit of truth.

That I want thee, only thee—let my heart repeat without end. All desires that distract me, day and night, are false and empty to the core.

As the night keeps hidden in its gloom the petition for light, even thus in the depth of my unconsciousness rings the cry—I want thee, only thee.

As the storm still seeks its end in peace when it strikes again: peace with all its might, even thus my rebellion strikes against thy love and still its cry is—I want thee, only thee.¹

India has always affirmed that man is a living spirit and not a machine. He cannot be satisfied with mere wealth: *na vittena tarpaṇīyo manuṣyaḥ*.² Material self-seeking cannot give rise to new life.

1. *The Soul of Modern India* by John Correia-Afonso (1960), p.81

2. *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, 1.1.27

Education in Tagore's scheme starts with faith in spiritual life which has its foundation in unity, in the play of the one in the many. The Upaniṣads say:

*eṣa devo viśvakarmā mahātmā sadā janānām hṛdaye sanniviṣṭaḥ
hṛdā manīṣā manasūbhikṣito ya etad viduramṛtās te bhavanti.*¹

That God, the Maker of all things, that great Self ever-seated in the heart of creatures, is fashioned (in different ways) by the heart, by the thought, by the mind: they who know that become immortal. The Supreme is in us: that is why we yearn to attain purity and reach truth.

Religion cannot be taught in the form of lessons. It is not 'a fractional thing that it can be doled out in fixed weekly or daily measures as one among various subjects in the school syllabus. It is the truth of our complete being, the consciousness of our personal relationship with the Infinite. It is the true centre of gravity of our life.' We should not merely acquire knowledge but realize the truth. Tagore called his school an *āśram* because there the pupils are initiated into authentic religious life. 'That is why I say that this is an *āśram*, and in such a place we can have no separate groups and communities. Like the lotus that blossoms of itself in the lake of Mānas, this *āśram* has grown up naturally under the sky above this far-stretching plain; you cannot say that it belongs to any particular community. We do not acquire any special denomination by gaining the Truth. How often have great souls come to liberate men from the bondage of such false notions! But we forget what they sought to do; we create sects and coteries and fasten on ourselves the very bonds from which they tried to liberate us. To the Truth that enabled us to break down the walls of our prison-house we give new names; we set up new walls and give ourselves over again to the worship of these names. We say that those alone who belong to our particular religious or social group are our brothers in faith, that they alone are our true kinsfolk.

'Surely in this *āśram* we are not going to say such things. Here the birds are our kin, the Santhal boys who are ever inspiring the good in us are our brothers in religion. No one shall

1. *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, IV.17

go out from our *āśram* with a label. A man does not change his name if he acquires health or learning; so one does not need to change his name when he accepts the true religion. Initiation in the true religion is initiation in Humanity.¹ We must be born citizens in the kingdom of the spirit, of love. Violence and cunning are not the values of human beings. Teachers should be carefully selected, for truth is not a commodity to be sold; it can be communicated only through the medium of personality.

III

The way to attain the consciousness of the Divine in us is by *brahmacarya*, disciplined living. We must reject all petty desires and motives and train our senses, mind and intellect, the heart and the imagination, the moral and aesthetic judgment as well as spiritual awareness. All life is an adventure to attain the fulfilment of the self, its integration. In silence and through meditation we attain a glimpse of the Real.

Referring to many paradoxes in the world, Rabindranath points to one of them 'that whenever the landscape is immense, the sky unlimited, clouds intensely dense, feelings unfathomable, that is the day where infinity is manifest, its companion is one solitary person.' 'I believe in the hour of meditation and I set aside fifteen minutes in the morning and fifteen minutes in the evening for that purpose. I insist on this period of meditation, not, however, expecting the boys to be hypocrites and to make believe they are meditating. But I do insist that they remain quiet, that they exert the power of self-control even though instead of contemplating on God, they may be watching the squirrels running up the trees.'

Brahmacarya does not mean the stifling of our powers but their proper and balanced development. 'Let the body and the mind of the child pulsate with the rhythmic beat of the universe.' Tagore writes: 'No, I will never shut the doors of my senses. The delights of sight and hearing and touch will bear thy delight.'² Rabindranath

1. *Visvabharati News*

2. *Gītāñjali* 73

recognized the variety of life and its abundance.

Physical culture, enjoyment of nature and the cultivation of arts are emphasized in the school. On the cement seat which Devendranath Tagore occupied are inscribed the words *prāṇer ārām maner ānand ātmār śānti*, the play of life, the satisfaction of mind and the peace of soul. This is the Bengali rendering of the Upaniṣadic maxim, *praṇārāmaṁ, mana ānandaṁ, śānti samṛddhaṁ amṛtaṁ*. The aim of education is to produce not the physical or the intellectual, not the political or the economic man, but the moral and the spiritual man, the complete, the whole man.

Taittirīya Upaniṣad says: 'May my body be vigorous; may my tongue be exceedingly sweet, may I hear abundantly with my ears'.

śarīram me vicarṣaṇaṁ, jihvā me madhumattamā

*karṇābhyāṁ bhūrivīśruvaṁ.*¹

Again: 'May the different parts of my body, speech, life, the eyes, the ears, strength and all the senses be satisfied'. As the Upaniṣad says they are all *Brahman*.²

We must establish friendly relations with our natural, social and cultural environment. Harmony with nature as in the ancient *tapovanās*, forest hermitages, where life was simple and leisurely, surrounded by ample space and profound peace, appealed to the poet. The light of nature fills our eyes with gladness, and her products give us life. The world may be at strife but in the *āśram* there is peace.

When Satyakama returned home from the forest, his teacher asked: 'Verily, my dear, you shine like one knowing *Brahman*; who has taught you?' He answered, 'other than men', *anye manuṣyebhyaḥ*.³

Robinson Crusoe delighted the poet, for in that book union with nature is expressed in a story of adventure, where 'the solitary man is face to face with solitary nature, coaxing her, co-operating

1. I.4.1

2. *āpvāyantu mamāṅgāni vāk prāṇaś caksuḥ śrotam atho balam indriyāṇi ca sarvāṇi sarvaṁ brahmopaniṣadam.*

3. *Chāndogya Up.* IV. 9.2. St. Bernard said: 'What I know of the divine sciences and Holy Scriptures, I learnt in woods and fields. I have had no other masters than the leeches and the oaks.'

with her, exploring her secrets, using all his faculties to win her help.’¹

IV

When to one who knows that all beings have, verily, become one with his own self, then what can delusion and what sorrow be to him who has seen the oneness?

*yasmin sarvāṇi bhūtānyātmaivābhūd vijānataḥ
tatra ko mohaḥ kaḥ śokaḥ ekatvam anupaśyataḥ*²

Knowledge gives us power, love gives us fullness. We should not develop barricades of separateness in the name of social necessity. We have suffered on account of our submission to social restrictions, our lazy reliance on traditional authorities. This attitude should be given up if our society is to endure.

When the poet visited the Soviet Union he was struck by the liberation the Soviet Revolution had effected. He wrote that in the Soviet Union ‘the dumb have found their voice, the ignorant have cast the veil from their minds, the helpless have become conscious of their own power and those who were in the depth of degradation have come out of society’s ‘black hole’ to claim equality with everybody else. This is Soviet Russia’s achievement in less than eight years’ time’. He looks at Indian conditions and writes: ‘When I came to be acquainted with the class of people who in our country are dumb and ignorant and deprived of all life’s opportunities, whose minds are crushed under the weight of inner and outer poverty, I realised how much of man’s wealth of mind is obliterated by social indifference. What infinite waste! What cruel injustice!’

Rabindranath says, ‘I do not exactly know whether the socialist’s demand.... is possible or not, but to ridicule as a dream the possibility of distributing the bare necessities of life amongst mankind (and to think) that some men are predestined to starve without any way out of it, is a cruel theory, to say the least.’³

1. *Towards Universal Man* (1961) p. 294

2. *Īśa Upaniṣad* 7

3. Quoted in B. K. Roy: *Rabindranath Tagore* (1915) pp. 111-112

'When money began to flow into the houses of office-goers and businessmen,' he writes, 'articles of foreign luxury became the measure of respectability. Thus, today even in our country, the distinction of wealth attracts attention rather than family traditions and conduct, culture and intellectual attainments. Pride in wealth is the greatest sign of man's indignity; we must beware that this meanness does not reach our inmost social being. What has pleased me most here (Soviet Union) is the complete disappearance of the vulgar conceit of wealth. For this reason alone the self-respect of the people has been restored; peasants and workers have all shaken off the load of disrespect and raised their heads. How wonderfully easy have become man's relations with his fellows!' Ownership and control of material resources are to be so distributed as best to serve the national interest. Concentration of wealth and economic power in the hands of a few are to be avoided. Tagore will be opposed to the enforcement of socialism by the suppression of the individual and over-emphasis on technical means at the expense of human values. Socialism is not to be effected by violence or compulsion.

It is most unfortunate that we claim the authority of Marx for an authoritarian system which subordinates the individual to the State. Marx is not a materialist. He does not say that man's primary impulse is to improve his material condition. He believes in the importance of the individual and has an understanding of the spiritual needs of man. Marx sought for the spiritual freedom of man, for his liberation from the chains of economic necessity. He yearned for a society in which man would find unity and harmony with his fellowmen. He would protest against any system of society, capitalist or communist, where we aspire for creature comforts, where we surrender to our big brother, the Government, our individual liberty for the sake of security, where a state of conformity prevails in which the individual is lost. Man is standardized, dehumanized in vast industrial organizations. Marx was first and foremost a humanist. Man, according to him, makes his own history, creates his own future, personal and social. At the beginning of his evolution man is chained to nature; as he grows, he transcends

his relationship and transforms himself. Through labour his relationship with nature is changed. We have to build a civilization based on man whose measure is character and not power or wealth.

The existentialist protest against the dehumanization of man in modern society, according to Paul Tillich, 'is an over hundred years old movement of rebellion against the dehumanization of man in industrial society.' Marx wished to liberate man from work which destroys his individuality and transforms him into a thing. Kant said: 'Man must always be an end in himself and never a means to an end.' The end-product of education should be a free creative man, who can battle against historical circumstances and adversities of nature. Prediction is not possible in human affairs. There is so much in history which is non-repetitive and unique. Change, novelty, creation in human affairs are the manifestations of the element of uniqueness in man.

The poet said of his Santiniketan and his boys: 'I can see from their manner, they have dimly begun to think that education is a permanent part of the adventure of life, that it is not like a painful hospital treatment for curing them of the congenital malady of their ignorance, but is a function of health, the natural expression of their mind's vitality.' Tagore taught his pupils to cherish the idea of a higher civilization and work for it with courage.

V

There were prophets of human unity in the past. But their world was limited to their respective countries and civilizations. Geographical barriers kept the ancient peoples apart in olden days and they evolved moral ideals of their own in isolation. Those who had mutual sympathy and trust developed a community of ideals which transformed external facts of close neighbourhood into cultural unity. Today the different peoples have come together and we have knowledge of the phenomenal diversity of human cultures. Tagore anticipated the new age of internationalism and with devotion worked for the emergence of a new era in world history. Fidelity to one's culture is consistent with hospitality to others. 'There is

only one history, the history of man. All national histories are merely chapters in the larger one. And we are content in India to suffer for such a great cause.' Our national cultures are varied expressions of the one culture which is emerging for the whole of civilized humanity. Only that will survive which is basically consistent with the universal outlook. We cannot be content with anything less than the world order.

Rabindranath's great gifts of imagination and art were used for fostering faith in the unity of man and forging bonds of kinship with others. He gave institutional expression to his faith in the intercommunication of minds and hearts as the basis for world harmony by the establishment of Visvabharati, an international university where the whole world is brought together. There an attempt is made to break down the barriers that separate men and ideas.

Whether we like it or not, we have to live together in one world. We must strive to break down divisions and misunderstandings and build a world community on the basis of tolerance and goodwill. This goal is not a mere luxury but a desperate necessity. In this tortured world we must rediscover our solidarity. The great gifts of humanity are not the monopoly of any race or nation. Tagore worked for the great endeavour to draw the nations of the world together. 'Visvabharati acknowledges,' says the poet, 'India's obligation to offer to others the hospitality of her best culture and India's right to accept from others their best.' Speaking on this subject in an address in England,¹ Tagore said: 'The monsoon clouds generated on the banks of the Nile fertilize the far-distant shores of the Ganges... ideas may have to cross from the eastern to the western shores, to find a welcome in men's hearts and fulfil their promise. East is East and West is West, God forbid that it should be otherwise, but the twain must meet in unity, peace and understanding. This meeting will be all the more fruitful because of their differences. It must lead both to holy wedlock before the common altar of humanity.' 'I ask the simple men of faith, wherever they may be in the world, to bring their offerings of sacrifice to him

1. Reprinted in the *Poetry Review*

and to believe that it is far better to be wise and worshipful than to be clever and supercilious. I ask them to claim their right of men, to be friends of men, and not their right of a particular proud race who boast of their fatal quality of being the rulers of men.'¹ Tagore loves his country too much to be a nationalist. Each nation should develop a broader horizon and even if a nation has to die, it should learn to die without hatred.

Tagore's attempt is in pursuance of the Indian ideal. Our ancient seers never allowed their vision of humanity to be darkened by petty considerations of race or religion. *Viśvamatrī* was their ideal. 'In India, the history of humanity is seeking to elaborate a definite synthesis. The history of India is not the history of Aryan or non-Aryan; it is not the history of the Hindus nor a history of only Hindus and Muslims taken together. Of late the British have come in and occupied an important place in India's history. This was not an uncalled for or accidental intrusion. If India had been deprived of touch with the West, she would have lacked an element essential for her attainment of perfection. On us today is thrown the responsibility of building up a greater India, in which Hindu and Muslim and Christian, the dark-skinned and the white-skinned, will all find their place.'² India stands for the co-operation of all peoples of the world.

Tagore believed in the unity of the human race, a unity enriched by diversity. Co-operation and cross-fertilization are necessary for the complete and harmonious development of the human race. He wrote: 'As the mission of the rose lies in the unfolding of the petals which implies distinctiveness, so the rose of humanity is perfect only when the diverse races and nations have developed their distinct characteristics to perfection yet all remain attached to the stem of humanity by the bond of brotherhood.' East and West have the same goal but have their respective missions to fulfil.

Peace cannot be achieved by organizations. It can come only when our minds become endowed with generosity and goodwill

1. Maitreye Devi: *The Great Wanderer* (1961) pp. 236—237

2. *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, Saturday, September 13, 1941—TAGORE MEMORIAL SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT p.3

towards all. We must be filled with the moral power of love and the vision of spiritual unity. We have to solve our problems through the help of our higher nature.

Rabindranath Tagore attracted to Visvabharati scholars and artists of international repute from all parts of the world. Now that the national barriers which once separated peoples have crumbled and men of different religions, faiths and racial backgrounds are getting together, we must work for an ideal humanity. A world community is an achievement to be gained through not only political, economic and historical means but also educational and cultural forces. Educated men who were leaders of society in the European world knew something about Plato and Virgil. These classics created a sense of community. Of American society it was said that everybody had read the Holy Bible and knew it pretty well. They all had something in common. The sense that they all belonged to one community was created to some extent by the ideas that they had in common. If we wish to prepare ourselves for a world society, our study should not be confined to our own classics but should include those of other cultures.

Visvabharati aims at producing men big enough to see the human race as a whole. It expresses the longing for a new mankind. We have to create a new civilization or perish.

When the idea of his impending death crossed his mind, the poet's only concern was about Visvabharati. 'I have no attachment to life any more, you know. There is only one snag, that is my Visvabharati. What I have taken such infinite pains to build up, will it have no significance after me? This is the only thing I am worried about. You can have no idea what an amount of work is behind it.'¹

The greatest service which we can render to the memory of Rabindranath is to do what he would have wished us to do if he were still alive.

Tagore is a symbol of the undying spirit of man who lifted the hearts of mankind to the heights we aspire for, a new society, a new civilization.

1. Maitreye Devi: *Tagore by the Fireside* (1961), p.62

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

I

The versatility of the great poet whose birthday centenary is being celebrated not only in India but also in many parts of the world is astonishing. He was not only a poet and a playwright but a novelist and a story teller, a composer and an actor, a serious thinker and a social reformer, an educator, a nationalist and an internationalist. As if these activities were not enough, he turned to painting towards the end of his life. He rejected traditional canons and experimented with new forms and colour compositions. His paintings and sketches—more than 1,500 of them are preserved—take us to the realm of the fantastic and the unreal. We honour him not only for this many-sided genius but also for the guidance of his life and work in this troubled world.

He built a monument for himself not merely as a record of achievements but also as a lesson to posterity. The world claims him as its own because of what he became, and what millions of human beings hunger to become. He attained that perfect co-ordination of being that belongs to genius, that serenity of mind sought by many and achieved by few.

The urgent need of the human race is to move a step forward in its evolution. Rabindranath's mission was one of reconciliation between East and West in a spirit of understanding and mutual enlightenment. 'All humanity's greatness is mine.' 'The infinite personality of man can only come from the magnificent harmony of all human races. My prayer is that India may represent the co-operation of all the peoples on this earth. For India unity is truth and division is evil.'

The poet's name is symbolic of the light of day, the sun which dispels the mists of darkness, the clouds of suspicion, and restores health to the human system.¹

Speech at the opening of Rabindra Bharati (National Theatre), Hyderabad, 11 May, 1961

1. The Vedic *Gāyatrī mantra* is a prayer to the Supreme Light to illumine our understanding. In Dante, the sun is the symbol of God as Divine illumination.

Though his work was rooted in Indian soil his mind ranged over the wide world and his knowledge of human nature was deep. His work has, therefore, a universal appeal. His poems and songs vibrate with a peculiar passion which the pursuit of beauty aroused in him. They speak of the vicissitudes of friendship, the beauty of love, the pain of desolation, laughter and tears, terror and delight, the vanity of human wishes, the pains and heartaches of unfulfilled desires, the horror of moral obliquity, the shame of infamous conduct. They have the power of stirring our deepest emotions.

Rabindranath's writings have been translated into many languages but even the best translations do not bring out the music and the melody, the fire and the force of the original.

II

There is a unity of inspiration in Rabindranath's work. He was born at a time when India was in a revolutionary mood. There was a conscious revolt against social, political and religious institutions. Rabindranath participated in this movement and helped it forward. While he was aware of the social inadequacy and religious reaction and protested against them, he was deeply convinced of the validity and vitality of the fundamental ideals set forth by the seers and saints of India :

O Motherland! in thee the whole world takes delight
First from thy forest-dwellings rose the sacred songs;
First from thy dawning spread the light
Of noble thoughts and deeds, in epic verses told.

India, he says, has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illumined consciousness of her great seers. The genius of a few has touched the hearts of many.

In his poetry he gives personal endorsement to the classical tradition of India. When he loves India, it is this tradition that he loves. In his *Religion of Man* he writes: 'I do not consider India to be a geographical entity. To me it is spiritual personality. This is the spirit of faith in the metaphysical being of man which may perhaps exhaust all our material prosperity. Even after losing

everything India stands steadfastly embracing that spirit. It is a glory sufficient to justify hope for its future.' In 1925, he brought out a book, *The Geographical Introduction to History*: 'There can be no play without a stage, no history without geography. Historical consciousness is revived in peoples' memories by association with certain places.'

Tagore's nationalism is internationalism. In a poem entitled *Pravāsi* (The Emigrant) he writes:

My home is everywhere;
I am in search of it;
My country is in all countries;
I will struggle to attain it.

He asks us to measure ourselves against the achievements of our forefathers. Streams of men poured into the country in resistless tides from places unknown and were lost in the one sea of India. Aryans and Dravidians, Sakas and Huns, the Pathans and the Moghuls, these people of diverse origin influenced Indian culture which is one, though varied in its manifestations.

'To know my country, one has to travel to that age when she realized her soul and thus transcended her physical boundaries, when she revealed her being in a radiant magnanimity which illumined the Eastern horizon, making her recognized as their own by those in alien shores who were awakened into a surprise of life, and not now when she has withdrawn herself into a narrow barrier of obscurity, into a misery of pride, of exclusiveness, into a poverty of mind that dumbly revolves around itself in an unmeaning repetition of a past that has lost its sight and has no message for the pilgrim of the future.'

Tagore's philosophy was one of wholeness and unity. He fought against the evil of division, of multiplicity.

III

The philosophic outlook of India inspired the writings of Rabindranath Tagore. Philosophy had no place in the original family of the Muses. Coleridge, however, considered it to be a twin

genius to poetry. Discussing Shakespeare's poetry, Coleridge says: 'No man was ever yet a great poet without being at the same time a profound philosopher.' We find in Rabindranath the conjunction of a brilliant imagination and a passionate concern for conveying through his writings the basic intellectual and moral concepts of Indian culture. All ages of renaissance are ages when men suddenly discover the seeds of thought in their ancient past. Rabindranath says: 'Emancipation from the bondage of the soil is no freedom for the tree.'¹

Goethe expresses the yearning of the human spirit through Faust: 'I have to know what the world contains in its inmost being.' Our present civilization in some of its aspects robs the world of its mystery, pretends to have an answer to every question and teaches us to believe that what can be seen, touched and measured alone is real. At a time when the heavens no longer declare the glory of God but have become an eternal silence of infinite space, when the world is no longer seen as a field of Divine purpose but appears to obey blindly the laws of a mechanistic science, Rabindranath affirmed the reality of the Divine Spirit which informs and inspires the universe. The world is not the sum total of things that exist. It is not what is governed by laws.

Rabindranath understands the doubts and difficulties felt by the critics of religion. 'I am able to love my God because He gives me freedom to deny Him.' Many an atheist is seriously engaged in a creative search for the Divine. Atheism is not a negative denial of God but a positive movement of the spirit to reach the Divine behind the new dimensions of reality which modern knowledge provides. Though knowledge has no limit, mystery has no end.

Dissatisfaction with the actual and yearning for the Beyond are the keynote of all religions. Man struggles to attain perfection. To fail to achieve it is no disgrace; to lack the desire for it is a misfortune. Man's struggle is for emancipation.

I am restless. I am athirst for far-away things,
My soul goes out in a longing to touch the skirt
of the dim distance

O Great Beyond, O the keen call of thy flute!
I forget, I ever forget, that I have no wings to fly,
that I am bound in this spot evermore.¹

Indian tradition believes that man has to grow from the intellectual to the spiritual level. An intellectual apprehension of the Divine is different from the spiritual realization of it. 'Perfect freedom lies in the harmony of relationship which we realize not through *knowing* but in *being*. Objects of knowledge maintain an infinite distance from us who are the knowers. For knowledge is not union. We attain the world of freedom only through perfect sympathy.'² Tagore says, 'I have seen what is unsurpassable', in the spirit of the Upaniṣad writer:—

*vedāham etam puruṣam mahāntam āditya-varṇam tamasaḥ parastāt*³
The poet writes: 'I have seen, have heard, have lived in the depths of the known, have felt the truth that exceeds all knowledge which fills my heart with wonder and I sing.' Freedom is reached by the attainment of truth. Ignorance is bondage; knowledge is deliverance.

The basic quality of his life and thought was determined by certain experiences he had. Standing one morning on the verandah of his house, seeing the sun rise behind the rich foliage of the garden trees he had a vision of the beauty and joy of the universe. 'I suddenly felt as if some ancient mist had in a moment lifted from my sight and the morning light on the face of the world revealed an inner radiance of joy.' 'The invisible screen of the commonplace was removed from all things, and all men and their ultimate significance were intensified in my mind... The unmeaning fragments lost their individual isolation and my mind revelled in the unity of a vision... I felt sure that some Being who comprehended me and my world was seeking His best expression in all my experiences, uniting them into an ever-widening individuality which is a spiritual work of art.' Rabindranath's religion is based on vision, experience rather than on knowledge.⁴

1. *The Gardener*, V

2. *Towards Universal Man* (1961), p. 191

3. *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, III, 8

4. cf. 'My religion is the religion of a poet. What I am going to say here comes out of an inner vision and not from knowledge.'
The Religion of Man

The ultimate truth in man is not his intellect but the illumined consciousness which he acquires when he extends his sympathy across all barriers of caste and colour. He then realizes that all things are spiritually alive. The world is not alien to us. It is the habitation of man's spirit. Every object in existence has something ineffable about it.

The experience of Reality which the great seers have is not capable of exact definition. So varied representations are given. These are fashioned by heart, intelligence and mind, *hrdā manīṣā manasā*, to use the words of the Upaniṣad.

*na samdr̥ṣe tiṣṭhati rūpam asya
na cakṣuṣā paśyati kaścaminam
hrdā manīṣā manasābhikṛpto
ya etad vidur amṛtās te bhavanti*¹

Not within the field of vision stands this form,
no one whatsoever sees him with the eye.
By heart by thought, by mind apprehended,
they who know him become immortal.

The poet's religion has no place for any fixed doctrine. Religion is an endless adventure of man's entire being towards a truth which is revealed in this very quest. Truth is not the exclusive possession of any one individual or class or race or religion. The one Truth has many faces, *bahūni mukhāni ekaṁ sat viprā bahudhā vadanti*. The real is one; wise men speak of it in many ways. On the basis of such a view India had been struggling for *sarva-dharma-samanvaya*. The variations are determined by the accidents of geography and history. The concepts of God are relative to our traditions and training. This emphasis on unity in diversity as against uniformity has persisted for centuries in the Indian outlook. This view negates discord for unity, comprehends the differences. When differences become contradictions, conflicts arise. Tagore repudiates narrow, dogmatic, exclusive views of religion. It is wrong to think that certain nations, certain races and certain creeds are specially chosen by God.

In his essay on *The Centre of Indian Culture*, Tagore says: 'We should remember that the doctrine of special creation is out of

date, and the idea of a specially favoured race belongs to a barbaric age. We have come to understand that any special truth or special culture which is wholly dissociated from the universal is not true at all.' He reminds us that 'our forefathers did spread a single white carpet whereon all the world was cordially invited to take its seat in amity and good fellowship. No quarrel could have arisen there, for He in whose name the invitation went forth, for all time to come, was the Peaceful, in the heart of all conflicts; the God who is revealed through all losses and sufferings; the One in all diversities of creation. And in His name was this eternal truth declared in ancient India. He alone sees, who sees all beings in himself.'¹

Tagore looks upon the Supreme as personal. He writes: 'I was born in a family which, at that time, was earnestly developing a monotheistic religion based on the philosophy of the Upaniṣads.' Monotheism puts at the centre not a cold abstraction cut off from the world but the Lord of Love who informs and inspires the universe.

IV

As a poet Rabindranath is interested not in the Transcendent One but in its varied expressions. In an address which he gave on his seventieth birthday he said: 'The messengers of Truth's white Radiance, who purify earth, air and water, who guide men to the paths of peace, I honour them—and I know I am not of their company. But when that one Radiance throws itself out joyously into the many, scatters its sheer splendour through the spectrum of this universal movement, then and there I find my vocation—as a poet. I am a voice of the expressive many, the Infinite's self-revelation, its endless, nameless joy, the passion of bliss that fathers forth all things.'²

For Tagore, God, man and nature are bound together in single unity. He repudiates the view which looks upon the world as a valley of dry bones, a charnel-house, a sham, a lie. In mediaeval

1. *The Centre of Indian Culture*
Visvabharati News, May 1961, p. 196

Europe, the flesh was treated as impure and the world as vanity and renunciation was prescribed as the only way to salvation. For Tagore the whole universe is a manifestation of the Supreme, *Īśāvāsyam idaṁ sarvaṁ*. All things are inter-related in God, *sūtre maṇi-gaṇā iva*. Spirit and life are two poles of one Reality. When the world is enveloped by God, its pettiness is relieved. Tagore agrees with Pascal who says that 'a man does not show his greatness by being at one extremity, but rather by touching both at once.'

Even Śaṅkara who is reputed to be the formulator of the *māyā* doctrine did not look upon the world as a mere illusion or a dream. He tells us that it is evident to the whole world, *sarva-loka-pratyakṣa*, that it is established by all experience, *sarvānubhava-siddha*.

For Tagore the world is various, beautiful, and new. It brings certitude and peace to the human soul. The poet affirms life, and without such an affirmation, life contradicts itself and denies its own existence. Life is essentially worth living. It may have its moments of pain and sorrow but it is valuable because of these things and the rewards which even a glimpse of self-knowledge brings. It is not right to think that only those who are unhappy can understand the sufferings of others. When we help others out of deep sympathy, our desire to help is rooted in the joy we feel in life. Unhappy people sometimes become embittered and want others to suffer also. Human beings are born to love and be loved. The symbol used in India is the lotus and not the Cross, though both stress different aspects of the way to perfection. Tagore believes in man's capacity for joy and of his power to live in harmony with the natural and universal forces that surround him. 'The current of the world has its boundaries, otherwise it would have no existence, but its power is not shown in the boundaries that restrain it but in its movement which is towards perfection.'

Religion is not to be confused with doctrinal conformity or ceremonial piety. It is the purification of the soul, the remaking of self. It is not a mere quest of truth but a conquest of our selfishness, pride, greed, etc. It is through self-control that man can reach his goal. The extinction of the ego is the way to fulfilment. Progress

towards the goal is through continual sacrifice. 'Life', says Rabindranath, 'is an eternal sacrifice at the altar of death.'¹

When we grow into the image of the Divine, when we dwell in Him and with Him, we become channels of His light and power, instruments of His working. He only knows the truth who knows the unity of all beings in the spirit. Then all men are seen as brothers. *bhrātaro mānavās sarve*. This is the root principle of Indian culture, its *mūla-mantra*, for human beings are the rays of the Divine, sparks of the Supreme Spirit, *mamaivāṁśo jīva loke jivabhūtaḥ sanātanaḥ*.

V

For Tagore there is no conflict between social aims and spiritual life. The title which he gave to his Hibbert Lectures was *The Religion of Man*. It is the religion of all humanity. All human beings share a common destiny in a universe whose mystery still remains unfathomed. He had a sensitive social conscience. When he referred to the evil days on which the country had fallen, he emphasized the social inadequacies, the humiliations and hardships to which millions of our countrymen were subjected. We are all born equal but we are made unequal by the way we are brought up. Reverence for personality is the central principle of all ethics. In our practice we have overlooked it. Tagore rebelled against orthodoxies, clashes of castes and creeds and indifference to the disinherited of the earth.

My head is bowed in sorrow
My eyes keep back their tears
My heart is rent by this reproach.

Political development is inseparable from moral development. Our political bondage is a symptom of our inward weakness. 'They who have failed to attain *swaraj* within themselves must lose it in the outside world too.' He demanded a positive programme of national reconstruction and not a mere rejection of foreign rule. We must remove the internal causes which give rise to social and political instability. He was an optimist with reference to India's future.

The poet is not a dreamer or a visionary. He keeps constant vigil

1. *Tagore by the Fireside*, Maitreyee Devi (1960)

over the world. He is the great sentinel, as Gandhi called him. The moral health of a nation depends on the inspiration the people derive from their poets and artists.

Asceticism for Rabindranath is self-control and not abstention from worldly activities. Very early in his life, when he was hardly seventeen, he had the need to control his emotions and his aphorism indicates his attitude.

The fire restrained in the tree
Fashions flowers:
Released from bonds it dies in ashes.

He was sensitive to the beauty of women¹. In his poem *The Bridegroom*, he says:

Because you and I shall meet
The heavens are full of light,
Because you and I shall meet
The world is full of greenery.²

Self-knowledge is not intended to seduce us from activity directed towards the outside world to an exclusive inward contemplativeness. Man knows himself in so far as he knows the world. To know oneself as separate is untruth; to realize one's unity with the universe is to know the truth. God-realization brings us into close relationship with the world of men and the universe. It does not take us away from life. 'My heart throbs to mingle with the heart of humanity. Some seek wisdom, others wealth, but I seek thy company so that I may sing.' Tagore does not believe in a sheltered life. In one of his poems in *Gītāñjali* he says: 'Our Master himself has joyfully taken upon Him the bonds of creation. He is bound with us all for ever.'

Goethe says: 'In the beginning was the deed'. In the name of spiritual freedom, we should not retreat from action. Austerity is not

1. Speaking of the English girls whom he met on his visit to England in 1889, he writes: 'It is a pleasure to walk along the street here. One is sure to see a pretty face. Patriots at home will, I hope, forgive my admiration of these fair faces, their red lips and shapely noses, and eyes that reflect the blue of the sky'. K. Kripalani: *Tagore: A Life* (1961), p. 64

2. E.T. by Nagendranath Gupta.

He has a great opinion of women, their refinement and strength of character though he also pokes fun at their expense: 'Our ancients said that modesty is woman's best ornament. But women put on so many ornaments that there is little room left for this one.'

inaction. 'The householder shall have his life established in *Brahma*, shall pursue the deeper truth of all things and in all activities of life, dedicate his works to the Eternal Being. Thus we have come to know that what India truly seeks is not a peace which is negation or some mechanical adjustment, but that which is in *śivam* (God), in goodness, which is in the truth of perfect union; that India does not enjoin her children to cease from *karma* (action) but to perform their *karma* in the presence of the Eternal, with the pure knowledge of the spiritual meaning of existence.' 'India has two aspects—in one she is a householder; in the other a wandering ascetic. The former refuses to budge from the home corner, the latter has no home at all. I find both these within me. I want to roam about and see all the wide world, yet I also yearn for a little sheltered nook; like a bird with its tiny nest for a dwelling, and the vast sky for flight.' Tagore did not believe in a life-denying asceticism. 'India has not split up her *dharma* by setting apart one side of it for practical and the other for ornamental purposes. *Dharma* in India is religion for the whole of society—its roots reach deep underground, but its top touches the Heaven, and India has not contemplated the top apart from the roots—she has looked on religion as embracing earth and Heaven alike, overspreading the whole life of man, like a gigantic banyan tree. To realize the One in the universe and also in our own inner nature, to set up that One amidst diversity, to discover It by means of knowledge, to perceive It by means of love and to preach It by means of conduct—this is the work that India has been doing in spite of many obstacles and calamities, in ill success and good fortune alike.' ¹

Those who expected to find an unworldly saint in Tagore were greatly surprised by his tough earthly quality. Saints are expected to live normal, balanced lives. The *Mahābhārata* says: *dharmārtha kāmāḥ samam evasevyāḥ ya eka-sevī sa naro jaghanyaḥ*. The ideals of social life, economic pursuits and the enjoyment of beauty should be cultivated equally; he who is devoted to only one of these has an impoverished life. An image used in Indian religious classics is familiar to all. Water surrounds the lotus flower but does not wet

its petals. Even so human individuals should work in the world without being affected by it. Tagore himself was a harmonious man in whom there was a happy blend of contemplation and action.

In *A Poet's Testament*, Rabindranath confesses : " I have completed seventy years of my life but even now my friends complain of the trait of frivolity which interferes with the gravity becoming to old age. I am afraid I cannot afford to be more serious. Those who want to place me on a high pedestal, with the ringing of bells and the sounding of conchshells, to them I would say, 'I have been born in a lower rung. I am a poet and nothing else'."

When people celebrated his birthday he tells them: 'Do not remind me of my age by celebrating my birthdays. I refuse to believe that age has anything to do with my life which knows nothing but the immortal youthfulness in which I am one with my *Jivandevatā*, the god of my life.' Youth is not a period of life. It is a state of mind, a quality of emotions, a temper of the spirit. We do not grow old by living a certain number of years. We grow old if we lose our ideals, if we become immune to change. Years may wrinkle the skin; the soul is wrinkled if we give up love and loyalty. Whether we are twenty or seventy we are young so long as we have in our heart the spirit of wonder, of curiosity, the challenge to life and joy in adventure, This is the meaning of the saying that we are as young as we feel.¹

VI

Rabindranath emphasizes the uniqueness of man. Man is within nature and yet understands nature. He is the only organism where life has become conscious of itself. He is gifted with imagination, with reason, with awareness of his existence, of his death and of all the many choices he has to make. He is torn away from the primitive harmony which the animal has in its relation to nature. He needs to relate himself to others, to the world; if he does not, he feels insecure.

1. On his eightieth birthday Gandhi wrote to Tagore: 'Four score is not enough. May you finish five. Love.' Tagore answered: 'Thank you for your message; but four score is impertinence. Five score will be intolerable.'

'God,' Rabindranath says, 'has many strings to his *sitar*; some are made of iron, others of copper, and yet others are made of gold. Humanity is the golden string of God's lute. His freedom, his ethical and aesthetic consciousness make man the golden string.' In the Preface to his collected works, Rabindranath says, 'This world I have loved; Greatness I have saluted; Freedom I have aspired for and I have believed that Man is true and that Universal Man is ever living in the heart of the people.'¹

When it is said that man is moulded by history Rabindranath demurs as an artist. He is alone as a creator. He is not caught in the toils of outward events. In one of his letters to his daughter written in 1927, Tagore says: '...within the depths of our soul, there is a place for eternal peace, where our eternal selves exist beyond the births and deaths, the unions and separations, the gains and losses of the world. If we can make room for ourselves there, then we really live; earthly living is not living at all.'² The soul is the creator; all others are the materials for creation. The materials may come from history, from social environment. They do not create the human being. He expresses himself through them. The living spirit in us liberates us from the mechanism of compulsion. It is freedom that helps us to order our life and move forward in the education of the human race. Great sources of knowledge and deep wells of inspiration are available to us so that we may select worthy goals and work effectively for realizing them. We have the power to change the course of history. Things do not happen in an inevitable way. Even materialists who affirm in theory that man is determined behave as though they had decisions to make and it is important for them to make decisions. Man has the power to set himself against the environment and retain his dignity.

At a time when technique has become all-important, the existentialists protest against the resulting emptiness, meaninglessness of

1. cf. Count Hermann Keyserling: 'Rabindranath Tagore is the greatest man I have had the privilege to know. He is very much greater than his world reputation and his position in India imply. There has been no one like him anywhere on our globe for many and many centuries... He is the most universal, the most encompassing, the most complete human being I have known.' Quoted from *Wanderer*—see Kripalani: *Tagore, A Life* (1961), p. 151

2. *Visvabharati Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII. No. 1

life, anxiety, split consciousness, disintegration of the self. Darwin's theory of evolution, Freud's insistence on the unconscious and the manipulations of conditioned reflexes to social and psychological engineering all tend to reduce man to the status of an object. Science cannot reduce to mere objects the discoverers of the marvels of science and their application. We must take into account all dimensions of man.

Each individual can contribute to the progressive life of humanity by perfecting his own nature, by liberating himself from the compulsions of nature and the restraints of history.

Rabindranath believed in the creative value of human freedom and in the validity of reason as a guide against dogmatism. The present trend toward the extinction of the individual is a serious portent for the future of civilization. The mobilization of human beings, in war as in peace, as instruments for realizing the will of a dictator or a ruling group dehumanizes man. For Tagore whatever promotes and enhances life is good; whatever injures and cramps life is evil.

In his essay on 'Society and State', Tagore says: 'Do not distrust your own strength; know for certain that the great hour has come. Know for certain that a unifying power has always worked in India. Even in the most adverse circumstances India has always worked her way out; that is why India still survives. I believe in this India. Even today, at this very moment, this India is slowly and surely building up a wonderful consistency between her ancient traditions and the modern times. Let each of us do his share consciously; let not mutinous feelings or sheer stupidity make us un-co-operative at every turn'.¹ Again, 'The forces that lie locked within us must find release under the stress of foreign onslaught, for today the world stands sorely in need of the priceless gifts which the ancient *ṛsis* of India earned by their self-discipline. Providence will not let these gifts go to waste. That is why, in the fullness of time, He has roused us by this agony of suffering'.² The spiritual legacy of the past should be distinguished from the dead

1. *Towards Universal Man* (1961), pp. 60-61

2. *Ibid*, p. 65

encumbrances. From the altar we must take the fire and not the ashes of dead forms. Rabindranath gives us many stories of wasted lives, anguished hearts, broken relationships resulting from submission to orthodox beliefs.

Religion, if it is not to fade away, should undergo a radical transformation. Ancient dogmas do not touch our hearts or satisfy our minds. Forms that were adapted to situations and issues that no longer exist require to be changed. Our doubts have dimensions deeper than we realize.

VII

Rabindranath was an organ of national life. He composed the National Anthem. It was sung for the first time at the Indian National Congress in 1911. It is a song in praise of the land with its hills and rivers, and with its many peoples, races and religions, all to be woven in a garland of love. It is a stirring appeal to unity under the Creator, the Dispenser of India's destiny, *bhārata-bhāgya-vidhātā*. The words kindle in the heart of man the sense of unity of oneself with all and brings the hearts of all peoples into the harmony of one life.

Though Rabindranath was essentially a literary artist, his voice was raised whenever grave injustices were committed. When evil is perpetrated, we have an obligation to speak out and act against it. Tagore along with Gandhi was responsible for the awakening of the national spirit and all through his life he was as much against the cowardice of the weak as against the arrogance of the strong. In his patriotism there was no trace of hatred, bitterness or chauvinism.

When the Sedition Bill was passed in 1898 and the great leader Tilak was arrested, Tagore raised his voice against the repressive policy of the Government and actively participated in raising funds for Tilak's defence.

When Bengal was partitioned in 1905, Tagore was greatly disturbed. He poured out songs full of the spirit of nationalism. 'There is no salvation for man if the power of the weak is not awakened at once, because the weapon of the powerful has exceeded

its limits; the helplessness of the weak knows no bounds today; all opportunities and advantages are heaped on one side of human society while helplessness reigns supreme on the other.'

When the Jallianwala Bagh atrocities occurred, he returned his knighthood and wrote a letter to the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, which concluded with the words 'The time has come when badges of honour make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation and I, for my part, wish to stand, shorn of all special distinctions, by the side of those of my countrymen who, for their so-called insignificance, are liable to suffer a degradation not fit for human beings.'

For Tagore, as for Gandhi, the measure of man's greatness is not his material possessions, but the truth in him which is universal. Hatred is more deadly than violence. It is an outrage on humanity. Man's strength lies in mercy and compassion. When Gandhi started the non-co-operation movement, Tagore thought that it was a kind of political asceticism. He was not attracted to negation, emptiness, even as a temporary expedient. He tried his best to understand the positive side of the non-co-operation movement but failed. 'And I say to myself, if you cannot keep step with your countrymen at this great crisis of their history, never say that you are right and the rest of them wrong; only give up your role as a soldier, go back to your corner as a poet; be ready to accept popular derision and disgrace.'¹

The Second World War disturbed him a great deal. When Miss Eleanor Rathbone appealed to Tagore to persuade India to come openly into the war against the Nazis, he pointed out how India herself had no political freedom. In his address on *The Crisis of Civilization* which he wrote a few weeks before his death, Tagore asks us to crusade for a civilization in which peace would be possible. Only an ethical movement can rescue us from the spirit of barbarism which has corrupted our civilization and is breeding wars and more destructive wars.

Rabindranath's prayer for his country is, 'Let the promises and hopes, the deeds and words of my country be true, my Lord.' He

does not say 'my country, right or wrong' but prays that his country may always adopt the right line of conduct.

Though he criticized British rule and worked for the country's liberation from British domination, he had no hatred for the British. In a letter to Mr C. F. Andrews in 1921, Tagore wrote: 'With all our grievances against the English nation, I cannot help loving your country, which has given me some of my dearest friends. I am intensely glad of this fact, for it is hateful to hate. The fact is that the best people in all countries find their affinity with one another. The fuel displays its differences but the fire is one. When the fire comes before my vision in this country I recognize it as the same thing which lights our path in India and illuminates our house. Let us seek that fire and know that wherever the spirit of separation is supreme there reigns darkness. Let me light my own lamp with love for the great humanity revealed in your country.'

Civilization cannot sustain itself on violence. It is not judged by the power it develops but by the love and humanity it evolves. The causes which bring about the decay and decline of civilizations are callousness of heart, softening of moral fibre, cheapening of man's worth and enslavement of men by machines. Mankind can save itself from destruction only by a renewal of spiritual values. The creative individual should work with energy combined with patience. Man's greatness consists in his decision to be more powerful than his condition.

VIII

India's history is not a separate exclusive history of either the Hindus or the Muslims. 'Those Muslims,' Rabindranath said 'who throughout the ages and since so many generations had made the soil of this land their own, by births and deaths—they too have a place in the history of India.' Even the British have become a part of our history.

'Let the awakening of the East drive us consciously to discover the essential and universal meaning in our own civilization, to remove the debris from its path, to rescue it from its bondage of stagnation

that produces impurities, to make it a great channel of communication between all human races. '

There is something in Rabindranath's teaching that is not of this earth. He was concerned with the invisible spirit of man, with the profundities and not the trivialities of life. He asks us to cling to ultimate common sense in the confusion of life. He believed in regeneration through love and suffering. He was not afraid of change. If emphasis on social reconstruction is treated as a Western value, the work of Rabindranath Tagore illustrates how Western values could be integrated with Eastern ideals. His songs are sung and his verses are remembered. His voice was the conscience of our age. He became a spokesman and a guide for his generation. He bequeathed to his country and the world a life which had no little-ness about it.

MADRAS UNIVERSITY

I am greatly honoured by the invitation of the University to declare open the Centenary Buildings. Those responsible for the construction of these impressive buildings deserve our hearty congratulations and thanks. They have taken nearly four years. Sometimes in our eagerness to complete the work we rush through and the results are not happy in the long run. It is wise to go slow and build firmly. I hope these buildings will endure for a long time.

Higher education is essential for the health and progress of any nation. At a time when our problems are becoming bewilderingly complex, high standards in education require to be maintained. This University has been known for its solicitude for standards. It is our hope and wish that it may be inspired by the same spirit in the future and make valuable contributions to science and scholarship.

Today you are honouring two of your illustrious graduates who not only made valuable contributions in the fields of law and medicine but have enriched the public life of our country in different

Speech at the opening of the Centenary Buildings, 2 August, 1961

ways, Let us remember that a university has no other light than the light shed by its alumni.

In the last hundred years we used our intellectual power to increase our understanding of nature and use that knowledge for changing our way of life. The telegraph, the telephone, the radio, the motor car, the aeroplane, prevention and conquest of disease and many other things indicate the changes that have occurred. Our work, our leisure and our economy have been greatly affected by the developments in science.

In 1899, a distinguished British scientist wrote a book entitled *The Wonderful Century*. He gave that title because he thought that the nineteenth century saw more scientific discoveries than in the previous history of mankind. One wonders what Alfred Russel Wallace would have thought if he had seen the achievements in science and technology in the last ten years. H.G. Wells in his *The Outline of History* said: 'Life, forever young and eager, will presently stand upon earth as upon a footstool and stretch out its realm amidst the stars.' His forecast is being fulfilled and we are now entering the space age. In the next hundred years we may be able to alter the course of rivers, move mountains and travel through space.

If we maintain peace, the next hundred years hold unlimited promise of betterment for all peoples of the world. We can rid the world of hunger, oppression, privation and disease and build a world better than many prophets have dreamed of. But it is a big 'if'.

Science gives us tools. With them we can either construct or destroy. The future depends on what we choose to do with these tools. We love and hate them; we desire and dread them; we need them, but are afraid of being destroyed by them. Now that distance is abolished and different nations are jostling one another, there are only two alternatives : understand one another and live together as friends, or fight and destroy one another.

At the moment it looks as if we have chosen the latter road. The physical disintegration of the atom was accompanied by the moral disintegration of man. In the last war, the scientific achievements

were distorted into manifestations of horror. To minimize military losses and perhaps to bring about an earlier end of the war, we resorted to the policy of extermination bombing. We won the victory but it brought about a mutilation of mankind, a moral wasteland. Our conscience is dulled by the crimes and outrages of war. Politics are still guided by primitive instincts such as the desire to expand and dominate others. Nations still resort to violence to have their way. The great nations are incessantly working on the creation of new weapons of destruction. We are polluting earth, water and air with radio-activity. When nations are possessed by greed, anger, they do not mind to what depths they descend. Sir Charles Snow in his novel *The New Man* suggests how degraded man can become:

We walked along the path.

'By the way,' said Martin, in a tone dry and without feeling, 'I heard one story about tactics that might interest you.'

He had heard it from someone present after the bomb was made.

'There was a good deal of discussion,' he said, 'about how to drop it with maximum results. One ingenious idea was to start a really spectacularly pretty flare a few seconds before the bomb went off.'

'Why?'

'To make sure that everyone in the town was looking up'. 'Why?' 'To make sure they were all blinded.'

I cried out.

'That's where we have got to in the end', he said.¹

There are quite a few nations today who possess nuclear power and they are also aware that its destructive power has increased to a startling degree.² Atom bombs kill whole populations even as bullets kill individuals. The very fear of catastrophe has brought about a certain community of interest, interest in self-preservation and survival. To get together is a political necessity even though it is also in the spirit of the injunction to love our enemies. If progress in goodwill keeps pace with increase in knowledge, if wisdom grows along with power, human happiness and fulfilment may well transcend the dreams of even the most optimistic. Man must learn to control himself if he is not to destroy himself. Without spiritual insight and generosity, without the ability to rise above power and

1. p.199

2. *The New York Times* says, 'Now with the successful testing of our first megaton hydrogen bomb, we have entered an age in which one plane carrying just one hydrogen bomb can deliver a cargo of destructive force about five times the total load of explosives dropped in World War II by all the combatants'.

mechanical extensions man faces not nature but his own self. Man himself is the present crisis. He is the greatest danger.

Civilizations of the past were held together by spiritual values and new civilizations are built by the creation of new values, by the confrontation of ideas, by the blood of the spirit, by suffering and courage. Today we seem to have a society which is only a technological order without any spiritual basis. That is why many of us are restless, uneasy, full of complexes. We have a great deal of neurosis and maladjustment even in the most affluent societies. As his external accomplishments increase, man's spiritual yearnings seem to get dimmed. Wishing to escape from his inward emptiness he tries to fly anywhere, to Mars or Venus. He submits to the pressures of the moment and is reduced to the level of a robot by humiliation and hardship.

In spite of great developments, man suffers from a sense of unease. Man is straining to move forward. That is a sign of health. Man, along with the plant and the animal world, is the product of countless evolutionary changes. Human evolution, however, is different in kind. No being but man can say 'I am'. This self-consciousness gives him freedom. He has the power of choice. He can choose good or evil. As Bergson says, Man is 'a reservoir of indetermination'. The spirit in him is not a passive object which suffers action. It is active and living. There is a sense in which the movement of the electron and the rise of mutations are unpredictable but we do not attribute volition to the elementary particles and genes. The decisions of human leaders are unpredictable in a different sense. That is why it is said that we have in history the play of the contingent and the unpredictable. Man is a moulder of things, not their victim. He is the creator of values.

Man's nature is ambiguous. Sometimes he shows great concern for human beings; at other times he shows great capacity for violence and destruction. Man has these extremes in him. In the R̥g Veda we read that life eternal and death are both the shadows of the Supreme: *yasya chāyā amṛtaṁ yasya mṛtyuḥ*. The *Mahābhārata* says :

*amṛtaṁ caiva mṛtyuś ca dvayaṁ dehe pratiṣṭhitam
mṛtyur āpadyate mohāt satyenāpadyate amṛtam*

In Europe in the Middle Ages man was called *homo duplex*, a thing half of dust and half of spirit. The integration of the two was the goal of human endeavour. We find in man flashes of unreasoning temper, frustrations, irrational preferences as well as affection, mutual co-operation, search for truth and love of beauty. We have to reckon with man's paradoxical nature. The heart may be in conflict with itself. The battle for the future has to be fought within ourselves. Rabindranath Tagore, whose birth centenary we are celebrating this year, refers to the duality in human nature. Tagore, the man of spirit, is ashamed of the shortcomings of Tagore, the man of flesh:

I came out alone on my way to my tryst. But who is this that follows me in the silent dark?

I move aside to avoid his presence but I escape him not.

He makes the dust rise from the earth with his swagger; he adds his loud voice to every word that I utter.

He is my own little self, my lord, he knows no shame; but I am ashamed to come to thy door in his company.¹

The spirit of man is capable of better behaviour than we adopt at present. We must make an exceptional effort to transform our appetite for hatred into a desire for justice. We wish not to allow our passions to become blind. We may be brothers in life or in death as we choose but brothers we shall be. With this perception we must remake our mentality. It is only dead things that do not change. Things that are alive are supple and soft. In change there is hope: stagnation is death.

Education should prepare us for a time when it will no longer be necessary to hate and to kill. Brotherhood is not a mere theory. It is a fact from which we cannot escape.

Recent events where in the name of language or community we resort to murder, loot and arson, raise doubts about our future. India cannot remain an integral whole if barbarous methods are not given up. The first and the main step towards national integration is the determination to renounce violence. We should not make any concessions to it. No man of violence ever came to a good end. The *Mahābhārata* says, 'By unrighteousness man prospers, gains what is desirable, defeats his enemies but perishes at the root', *samulas tu vinaśyati*.

We must discern and analyze the essential forces that determine the country's destiny. We must know the way in which our minds and the more important of our emotions are moving. In the period of the struggle for independence we took national unity for granted. Today caste, language, community and regional loyalties threaten to engulf our infant democracy and foreshadow perhaps a possible disintegration. There is no need to despair. In spite of language riots, strikes, political stresses, refugee problems, border troubles, we should be glad that we are keenly aware of our shortcomings. Stability can be achieved only by carrying out the directives laid down in the Constitution. Social and economic justice, equal opportunities for all, industrial democracy together with all that is meant by political democracy should be established. We should be emotionally trained for the new society.

Many of our problems are the indirect effects of our economic backwardness. Unless we raise our standards of living they cannot be solved. Our Five Year Plans are attempts to shake off our economic backwardness. We have achieved something but a great deal remains to be done. It may take a few more Five Year Plans before a higher level of living standards is within the reach of all. Our people through the panchayats, through schools and colleges, through the Press and the radio should acquire a knowledge of our goal and the steps we are taking to reach the goal, in agriculture, in industry and in social sciences. Food, clothing, shelter, education and health are elementary necessities for our common people. The universities are helping this process of increasing our productivity by providing training in agricultural, engineering and technological pursuits.

A university is not a mere information shop. It is a place where a man's intellect, will and emotions are disciplined. In it experience and adventure are combined. It is essential for each one of us who is involved in the making of the future to pledge oneself to decency. In spite of the limitations of the human condition, to be human, to be decent, is an exciting adventure. A university man should be unattached without being unconcerned, unambitious without being indolent, warm-hearted without being sentimental. Let each one

of us turn his effort to the achievement of peace at home and abroad.

May the next hundred years turn out to be the century of peace.

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF CHILDREN'S ART, NEW DELHI

This is not the first time I am inaugurating the Shankar's Children's Art Exhibition. I am always happy to do so.

In these twelve years it has assumed very great importance. In 1950 only 6,000 drawings and paintings were received. This year, 12 years after the inauguration, 73,000 drawings and paintings from 74 different countries and from all strata of the population were received. The aborigines of North Australia are also represented.

Quality has also improved. The range and variety of the paintings are truly astonishing.

The attempts of the older children were somewhat sophisticated and studied: those of the younger ones were natural, had the freshness of opening flowers. We must set free human capacity without imposing our views on it. We must release the talents of the children and help them to become what they are *in potentia*. It is the machine that constructs, it is the living spirit that creates. Song, dance and literature are creative activities.

Education should give the children not only intellectual stimulation but a purpose. We should not encourage them to think of situations as either black or white. We should not inject children with the poisons that have entered our bloodstream. We must not make them as corrupt as we happen to be. We passed through two wars and are giving to the children as a possibility a war of utter annihilation. Every new life should be an improvement on the old. Children should be taught to be gentle, truthful and forbearing.

Opening Address, 10 August, 1961

Shankar's exhibition is a step, however small, towards international integration. The children of many countries participate in this venture in a spirit of tolerance and friendship. Children are friendly, generous and eager to help one another. They are ready to honour a stranger, a member of another nation, where he is worthy of respect. This is true nobility of heart.

The problem facing us is the integration of the nation as a step towards world integration. Children should be trained in ways that lead to national unity and world solidarity.

Shankar deserves our warmest congratulations on the excellent work he has been doing all these years. Against great odds he has been persisting in his good work.

I have great pleasure in opening this Art Exhibition.

EXHIBITION OF BRITISH BOOKS

I AM happy to be here and open this exhibition of British books on India organized by the British Council. It will be here for a week, then travel to different parts of India and get back to Delhi where it will be kept in a special India Room.

I just went round the exhibition and found there all important books on India written by British authors. It includes books on humanities and sciences, pure and applied.

Our universities were started in 1857 and we celebrated their centenary three or four years ago. Since then generations of Indians have used some of these books which happen to be relevant to their special interests.

Among British writers, some have knowledge, some have sympathy, others have both knowledge and sympathy. Warren Hastings had great respect for the *Mahābhārata* which he treated as a work that 'may open a new and most extensive range for the human mind beyond the present limited and beaten field of its operations'. His interest in Indian classics grew out of a political purpose of

Opening Address, New Delhi, 22 September, 1961

'conciliating a great people to a dominion which they see with envy and bear with reluctance.' Though he started with a political motive he soon acquired admiration for the classics of India like the *Bhagavadgītā*, which, he declared, would live 'when the British dominion in India has long ceased to exist and when the sources which it once yielded of wealth and power are lost to remembrance.' Macaulay, on the other hand, had contempt for Indian literature, philosophy and religion. He said that he had never met any student of Eastern languages who could convince him that the whole of Oriental literature was worth a single shelf of the classics of Europe. His celebrated Minute of 1835 suggested that English should be the basis of education in India.

Whether it is the consciousness of the responsibility of government, or the urge of evangelism, or the spirit of exploration and enquiry, or widening one's horizon by bursting the bonds of one's own limited culture, or the pure joy of contemplation of the wondrous works of man under distant skies, whatever be the motive, we owe to these pioneers not only gratitude for their impressive achievements but for the impulse they gave to the study of our own past.

The intellectual renaissance which is still in process in varied fields of our activity is due to the impact of the West on India. All ages of renaissance are ages when men suddenly discover the seeds of thought in their ancient past. Rabindranath Tagore said, 'English literature which nourished our minds in the past does even now convey its deep resonance to the recesses of our heart'. He made this statement even when he was deploring the futility of modern civilization in his essay on *The Crisis of Civilization*.

Though in many fields, political and economic, we may not agree with each other, on the plane of mind and spirit Britain and India have developed enduring relations. Whatever political changes our two countries may undergo, these cultural ties, I hope, will hold.

THE INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL, NEW DELHI

I AM happy to inaugurate the International Film Festival in India and extend to you all, especially the delegates from abroad, a very hearty welcome on behalf of the Government and people of this country. I hope you will find your stay here pleasant and useful.

We note with satisfaction that 38 countries and the United Nations are participating in this festival though in 1952, when a somewhat similar festival was held here, we had only 21 countries. After a fortnight in Delhi some of the screened films will move to Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

The film industry has in recent times made considerable progress in India. India happens to be the second largest feature-film producing country in the world. The industry employs over a hundred thousand people. Some of our films have received international recognition and some of our leading figures on the screen have won world fame. I am glad to note that among the Indian invitees to this festival we have an equal number of men and women.

Man is essentially a maker. He is not content with merely repeating the past. He knows that every morning brings a new day and every pulse-beat a new life. We cannot turn back the pages of history. In this world there are two sets of human beings: the men of yesterday and the men of tomorrow, those who are wedded to the past and those yearning for the future, those entering into the world of light and those going forth into the land of darkness. Bearing in mind the need of adapting ourselves to the changing conditions, we have to work in the film field.

The central aims of the film are entertainment, education and elevation of spirit. These three aims answer to the three sides of human nature, the vital, the mental and the spiritual. An ideal film should give us pleasure, instruct us, and stir the depths of our being.

Certain minimum standards of art and technique require to be maintained. We should try to raise the standards of the people and not merely cater to their tastes. There is a tendency for putting the profit motive higher than artistic excellence. I hope that film producers

will not succumb to this temptation. I hope this festival will help to raise our artistic and moral standards.

At a time when the political climate of the world is depressing and a sense of insecurity and fear is widespread, when dark clouds are gathering and the great Powers are accusing one another of pushing the world to the brink of a thermo-nuclear war, when they are darkening the sky, poisoning the air and polluting the earth, it is encouraging to have people meet here with the idea of fostering mutual understanding and learning from one another. The fear which now obsesses the nations of the world is a potent source of danger. It is born of misunderstanding and ignorance. Any way by which we can dissipate suspicion is to be welcomed. Films are a great instrument of inter-cultural understanding. In our country it can contribute effectively to national integration. In the world, exchange of films helps to promote world understanding.

In our endeavour to create new men and a new society, films can be of immense use. The festival shows how East and West have grown towards each other. We can work together as equal partners in the community of nations for universal peace and understanding. It will be a great thing if all those connected with film production resolve to use their knowledge and skill, their artistic ability and imaginative power for the good of humanity and against the ruthless intent of men who wish to corrupt our tastes and degrade our natures.

NATIONAL AWARDS FOR TEACHERS

I am very happy to be here today and participate in this function. Only the other day I met members who came to participate in the Youth Festival and I found them full of energy, enterprise and a spirit of adventure. With such material, if the teachers also co-operate and realize their great responsibility in building a new country, I have no doubt our future will be bright.

Address at the distribution of the Awards, New Delhi, 31 October, 1961

In every country in the world whenever schemes of social reconstruction are undertaken, the apparatus used is the educational institutions and the educational machinery. We in our country look upon teachers as *gurus*, *āchāryas*: What do these words indicate? *Āchārya* is one whose *āchaar* or conduct is exemplary, is good. If he is a victim of *durāchaar*, then he is not an *āchārya*. He must be an example of *sadāchaar*, of good conduct. He must inspire the pupils who are entrusted to his care with love of virtue and goodness and abhorrence of cruelty and violence.

That is the first essential for any kind of civilized being. We must love the good and detest the bad. Until we are able to give our youngsters that kind of outlook, we cannot call ourselves good teachers. I hope that that ideal of a true teacher will be remembered by us :

andhakāranirodhatā gurur ityabhidhiyate

Andhakār is not merely intellectual ignorance but spiritual blindness. He who is able to remove that kind of spiritual blindness is called a *guru*. Are we deserving of that noble appellation of an *āchārya* or a *guru*? That is the first thing that every one of us will have to realize.

We have had recently any number of conferences about how to make us all feel that we are members of an integrated country. The country has had its integration.

From the beginning of history, this country has stood as one. When people go out to Japan, China, Ceylon, etc., they do not go out as the representatives of this part or that part of the country but they go out as the representatives of this whole nation. When I go out, I do not say that I am this or that or a third thing but I go as a representative of India. I was there in Cambodia and the King and the Queen gave a banquet. And the first paragraph of their banquet speech was to demonstrate that they were the spiritual descendants of some Indian ancestor of ours who went there in the early centuries, married a Cambodian princess and established a dynasty of which the present King and the Queen are the representatives.

We never had this idea of crossing the seas as something wrong, or marrying people from outside our particular community as

something untenable. History is on the move. We cannot turn back the pages of history. Time is the greatest innovator which we have had. And our country had the courage of spirit, had the intellectual courage to adapt itself to the conditions which were imposed on us.

Are we to be men of yesterday or men of tomorrow? That is the problem which is facing us. If we want to shrink into our own shells and if we want to adopt ideas which once upon a time prevailed in this country, we will be left behind in the race. It is therefore essential for us to keep pace with the changing conditions and adapt ourselves to the new circumstances which are facing us. Any tradition, unless it is constantly recreated, unless it is re-fashioned so as to be relevant to the modern conditions, becomes an oppressive burden, makes for death and not for life. So if we are to be progressive in this world we have to keep pace with so many things happening. We appreciate Gagarin, we appreciate Titov—what is it we appreciate there? We appreciate the new spirit which has made them bring about a new world. You cannot build a new India with old minds. Unless our minds themselves become new or renewed, so to say, in the spirit of our country, we can never bring about a new India. A new India means new men and women, and new men and women means new teachers and pupils who are re-fashioned to adapt themselves to new things.

There are several things in the history of our country of which we can be proud. There are several things of which we have to be ashamed. We have to discriminate between what is living and what is dead and take up what is living and try to make it a guiding principle of our lives.

There are great things which have happened here, great things of which we are proud. Our very antiquity tells us that we have some strange staying power which enables us to do great things. We adore people of learning, of wisdom, of renunciation. We have always held that, whatever be our religion, whatever be our creed, fearlessness, non-violence, renunciation are the great things by which this country has been built up. And unless we retain these qualities, it is wrong for us to expect that our country will be grateful to us or will respect us.

Why is it that the teaching profession has fallen on evil days? Why is it that many of the teachers find themselves in a very unsatisfactory condition? And they are themselves frustrated, themselves disgruntled, unable therefore to look the boys in the face and teach them the central principles of what a civilized human being should be. I do not deny that society is responsible for a great deal. It is responsible for not having given the due status, the due honour, the due material emoluments which are essential for any decent kind of life in modern conditions.

All these things it is the duty and the responsibility of society to give to the teachers. They must have honour, they must have status, power and means for a comfortable existence. If all the time they are worried about where their next meal comes from, what they are going to do with the education of their children; if these are the problems which agitate and perplex the human beings, what is it that we can do? We cannot expect more things from the teachers than society is able to give them. It is therefore the responsibility of society, the responsibility of the State, to give the teachers proper conditions. Then it will be possible for them to realize their responsibility and do the best they can for the training of the young.

Pericles in his funeral oration said: 'I want every citizen of Athens to fix his eyes on the greatness of Athens until love of Athens fills his whole being.' Patriotism, if it is to be developed, can be developed only when you are able to know what the great achievements of this country were—the great sculptors, the great painters, the great scholars, the great philosophers, the great saints, the great sages. You must have respect for what this country has produced.

In every generation, in every part of the country, whatever might have been the pitfalls into which we fell, there were a few people standing up and beckoning to us. The way to develop a civilized community is by developing understanding and compassion. Inward wisdom, outward compassion—these are the two great qualities of an authentically civilized man; be he a Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Hindu, Buddhist, it makes little difference. So long as we have that outlook, you will be a proper inheritor of the great civilization and

you will be able to do things which will exceed the achievements of your ancestors. What is lacking is the proper spirit. Of course you may have learning but if in spite of that learning you do not have the principles of wisdom, your learning will be of no avail.

sākṣaro viparītatve rākṣaso bhavati dhruvaṃ

If you become merely a *sākṣara*—a literate man—and you do not have the moral principles and you do not cultivate wisdom, what will happen to you? You will become a *rākṣasa*, a *sākṣara* turning the other side becomes a *rākṣasa*. Now you see all over the world people mad with power, intoxicated with might, trying not to build up a world but to wreck the world. Why does that happen? It is because knowledge is not accompanied by wisdom.

jñānaṃ vijñāna sahitaṃ jñānaṃ vijñāna sahitaṃ

jñānaṃ or wisdom, must be accompanied by scientific knowledge. Scientific knowledge by itself is not all.

We therefore appeal to our teachers that they should themselves be filled with a modernist attitude, with a progressive outlook, with a forward-looking direction. Unless they themselves have it they cannot make their students forward-looking.

So the first essential is that you spread the spirit. If you are lacking in that spirit, what is it you can spread to your pupils? The first essential therefore is that the teachers themselves must know something of our history and something of what constitutes the greatness of the history. They must have a knowledge of why we suffered shame, humiliation, gloom and downfall, times without number, in our history. What is it that brought about the downfall? What is it that contributed to the greatness? We adore all great people. Today, in our generation, we had two such great people as Tagore and Gandhi. They were there. Were they confined to their own particular grooves? Did they not open themselves out to a universal perspective, did not they appreciate that the conditions today require us to look upon the whole world as one kindred, as one family? When was it that we were lacking in this spirit? Whenever we confined ourselves to narrow grooves, we fell down.

Even the greatest champions of orthodoxy were really generous

in their own time. You take a man like Śaṁkarāchārya. We look upon him as the champion of orthodoxy. Well, he was treated as a heretic in his own day.

Śaṁkarāchāryapādadvayaṁ maṇḍalasthaṁ dadarśa tataḥ sarvāṅgāṇi vikṣya saṁnyāsi iti jñātā kopakolāhalachittatā kuto muṇḍi ityabravīt

Śaṁkarāchārya went to Mandan Mishra's *yajñasālā* when he was performing a *yajña*. He looked at Śaṁkara and said: 'You don't believe in ceremonials. Why have you come here, you shaven one? Get out of this place.'

Therefore the progress of this country has been due to the heretics, to the non-conformists, not to those people who simply go about following the same track. It has been achieved by the people who are able to sit in judgment on the past, castigate, repudiate whatever in the past was unnatural, corrupt, degenerate, take all the things which were regenerate, natural and honest. Unless we have intellectual integrity, unless we do not blind ourselves and say everything that has come from the past is great and glorious, unless we repudiate that mentality, it will not be possible for us to build a new India.

This country has grown by perpetual self-renewal. It has kept its vitality today because it has the capacity to cast away things which were obnoxious and we must have that kind of capacity even today. Our teachers therefore are the reservoirs of this new spirit, the new spirit of adventure in intellectual matters, in social matters, in political matters. If you do not have that spirit, you cannot communicate that spirit to the youth, who are entrusted to your care. Therefore, I appeal to the teachers that if the generous youth, hospitable youth, adventurous youth, courageous youth whom we have in this country, if they are to be utilized for building up a new country, a new India, a new society, the beginning must come from the teachers themselves. They must know what this country stands for and they must be able to communicate that vitality, not merely instruction.

Let me tell you, the boys do not care for what you teach them but they care for the example you set. It is not merely the instruction which you impart to them in the class room but the kind of life you

lead. You think that they do not see it but they have eyes to see and ears to hear. They know everything about their teachers and if they have no respect for the teachers it is because they know more than they ought to know, more than what you expect them to know. Therefore it is education, it is instruction, it is knowledge and it is also the example which the teachers give.

We realize our responsibilities. As a Government we feel that we have not given a fair deal. It is the teachers in the lower stages who are really responsible for moulding the minds and hearts of our people. They must themselves be contented before they can communicate any spirit of contentment. We are trying to do our best, as Dr Shrimali just explained to you, apart from what the Government is doing, giving free education to the children of teachers, helping them, if they are students of merit, to have free education, higher on, even in the university stage. He is now trying to launch a new scheme, the Teachers' Welfare Fund, a Fund to be instituted in the country for looking after the welfare, the intellectual, the moral and the physical welfare of the teachers and their families; and he says that in this country, which has been famous for its charitable outlook, which has been well known for great acts of charity for the purpose of spreading education, *vidyā dān*, is supposed to be the greatest of all *dāns*—there will be adequate response for the appeal which the Government is making, which is being started with a grant of Rs. 5 lakhs. What is five lakhs of rupees when you take into account that we will soon have 65 million pupils and more than a million teachers? Much more has to be done. The Government will do what it can and it will indent upon private benefactions also so as to make the teachers feel they are a respected section of the community.

I myself have been a teacher for nearly fifty years of my life and still I am teaching whether it is in the Rajya Sabha or here today. All that I am doing is to tell people what they should do, how they should behave, etc. That is the kind of job which I have undertaken and so long as there is breath in me I will continue to do that work irrespective of fear or favour.

I hope you, gentlemen, who have received the awards will think this is only a token. There are many others who deserve these awards. I have no doubt about it and they must all feel that you are taken as representatives of the whole teaching profession. It is an award given not merely to individuals but it is given to the whole teaching profession to show that we look upon the teaching profession as something integral to the development of our country.

ALL INDIA RADIO SANGEET SAMMELAN

I AM happy to be here this evening and inaugurate the Sangeet Sammelan organized by All India Radio and to give away the prizes to winners of this year's music competitions. The All India Radio is devoting a great deal of time and thought to the development of music which is a potent factor in the revival of fine arts.

We have held music as an integral factor of a sound system of education. Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning, is called *vinā pustaka dhārīṇī*. Book learning should be accompanied by emotional development. Plato speaks of gymnastics for the body and music for the soul. Music should become an essential part of our education.

I am therefore happy that you have instituted these prizes for young artists between the ages of 16 and 21. A pat of recognition at the beginning helps to give self-confidence to the young artists and make them progress. At the age of 22, Beethoven asked, 'Should I ever become a great man?'. Though deaf, sick and pestered in life, he had great delicacy of feeling. Two years before his death he said: 'Everything I did apart from music is badly done and stupid.'

The other day I attended a ceremony in Frankfurt and when the President of the Federal Republic asked me as to what I thought about the ceremony, I said 'beautiful music at the beginning, beautiful music at the end and terrific noise in between'. We know Shakespeare's words 'noises, sounds and sweet airs that can delight and hurt not'.

Inaugural Address, New Delhi, 5 November, 1961

It is, however, difficult to develop any fixed objective standards. To a large extent judgments are a matter of taste conditioned by one's intellectual or cultural background. In spite of these difficulties the All India Radio has been developing a proper sense of values in music too and their efforts deserve praise.

Music in our country is associated with religion and we live with the great composers when we listen to their compositions. The saints and the seers pour out their feelings in the language of music which is a language of friendship and reconciliation.

In the same spirit you are trying to bring together different traditions of music, north and south, Hindustani and Karnatak. This Sangeet Sammelan is an attempt to bring together musicians of the different parts of India on a common platform and your efforts have been achieving great success and are much appreciated.

I am glad to know that you are now having this spacious and beautiful auditorium which is in keeping with the spirit of fine arts. Till now you were holding these Sammelans in improvised structures and I hope this suitable environment will also help to promote musical traditions. Musicians who have gathered here from all parts of the country will take part in the Sammelan and discuss the problems which affect musical traditions. To the winners in the competition, I extend my best wishes for their future progress. Today we recognize them as men of promise and I hope that in course of time they will be reckoned as men of achievement.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this Sangeet Sammelan.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE CENTENARY

I AM happy to say a few words on the occasion of the second phase of the Tagore Birthday Centenary Celebrations. Throughout this country and in many places abroad, his plays were staged, his paintings were exhibited and his ideas were discussed.

Speech at the inauguration of the second phase of the Celebrations, New Delhi, 11 November, 1961

Though his writings are steeped in the Indian spirit, they have a universal appeal. His poems and songs vibrate with a peculiar passion which the pursuit of beauty aroused in him. They speak of the vicissitudes of friendship, the beauty of love, the pain of desolation, laughter and tears, terror and delight, the vanity of human wishes, the pains and heartaches of unfulfilled desires, the horror of moral obliquity and the shame of infamous conduct. They have the power of stirring our deepest emotions.

Tagore dealt with the problems which face today every thinking man. What is man? What are the principal threats to his existence? What is he likely to become? What are the changes that have to be effected in him?

India's faith is in the spiritual being of man which is not exhausted by scientific descriptions and estimates. The urgent need of the human race is to move a step forward in its growth. The Upaniṣad speaks of two birds sitting on the same bough, one of them feeds, the other looks on. This image is used to indicate the mutual relationship between the infinite being and the finite ego. The delight of the bird which looks on is great for it is pure joy. Both these birds are in man himself, the objective one with its business of living and the subjective one with its disinterested joy of vision. The man in whom the infinite and the finite seek each other, *nara-nārāyaṇa*, *nara-hari* is the god-man. It is the Divine in us which will enable us to free ourselves from the compulsions of nature and the constraints of history and remould both nature and history. If we overlook this spiritual dimension of man he becomes the victim of necessity. The living spirit liberates us from the mechanism of compulsion. We have the power to change the course of history.

Rabindranath's mission was one of reconciliation between the East and the West in a spirit of understanding and mutual enlightenment. 'All humanity's greatest is mine.' He says, 'The infinite personality of man can only come from the harmony of all human races. My prayer is that India may represent the co-operation of all the peoples of the earth. For India, unity is truth and division is falsehood.'

He attracted to Visvabharati scholars and artists of international repute from all parts of the world. Visvabharati aims at producing

men big enough to see the human race as a whole. It expresses the longing for a new mankind, for a new civilization. The greatest service which we can render to the memory of Rabindranath is to do what he would have wished us to do if he were still alive.

THE INTERNATIONAL LITERARY SEMINAR, NEW DELHI

DISTINGUISHED Delegates and friends: I should like to express the gratitude of our people to the great authors and writers who have come here, from whom our people got a good deal of stimulation. I am only sorry that it was not possible for me to be present at all the discussions. I had other engagements which I could not avoid.

I saw from the press reports and from what Mr Aldous Huxley just said that there were some discussions about the problems and aims of education. In Santiniketan, on the seat where the Poet's father Devendranath Tagore used to meditate, there is a passage from the Upaniṣads which says: 'The play of life, the satisfaction of mind and the fulfilment of the spirit, the three things together constitute a co-ordinated or an integrated human being.'

'Vitality savage and mentally civilized' is the expression quoted by Mr Huxley. Civilized mentally is somewhat different from merely being efficient. You should have vital efficiency, vital dynamism; the second is intellectual satisfaction and the third is spiritual wealth. The three things together constitute an integrated human being. If we have the first two, we may get into dangerous positions.

I remember a great statement, a profound statement, made by Tolstoy: 'I shudder to think what will happen to the world if Chengiz Khan had a telephone.' Now our Chengiz Khans have not only telephones but they have nuclear weapons. When you say mentally civilized, the civilizing is the more important thing there, the civilizing of your whole nature, that is why the third aim of spiritual wealth is what religious people will call the rebirth, to be born again.

Address to the concluding session, 14 November, 1961

The true aim of education, according to the Indian sages, is second birth. We are born into the world of nature and necessity, we must be reborn into the world of spirit and freedom. In silence and meditation we discover the spirit in us, learn truth and love, acquire grace and strength by which we can implement our ideas.

Unless we have this complete integration, a human being cannot be regarded as truly civilized. So we require vital dynamism, intellectual efficiency and spiritual direction. The three things together constitute the proper aim of education. If the end products of our educational system today are unsatisfying, it is because we lay stress on one or the other but not on all the three things together. That is the first thing that we have to understand.

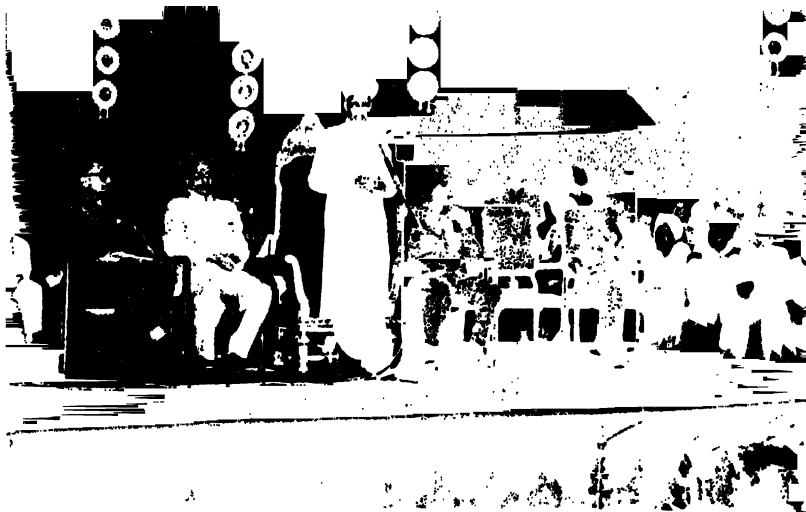
Mr Huxley spoke also about the great responsibility of the writers, of the literary artists. It is their function to give form and expression to the passions and aspirations of the people. Today we find that the world has become more or less one. The great technological advances, the reduction of distances, the political independence which nations in Asia and Africa have acquired, along with the international responsibility that it implies, the meeting of different cultures and civilizations, all these things are posing a problem. Yet we are cowering under the fear of some kind of crisis which may lead to universal death or destruction.

The problem that is facing us is that we have come together, for good or ill, and we cannot be separated any more. All the nations, all the cultures and all the civilizations have come together. What is the attitude which we shall adopt if we wish to settle down into a peaceful world, a world without wars, a friendly, neighbourly kind of world?

Faith in the exclusiveness, in the absoluteness, in the finality of our particular systems—that has brought about wars and wars again. We want to impose our particular views.

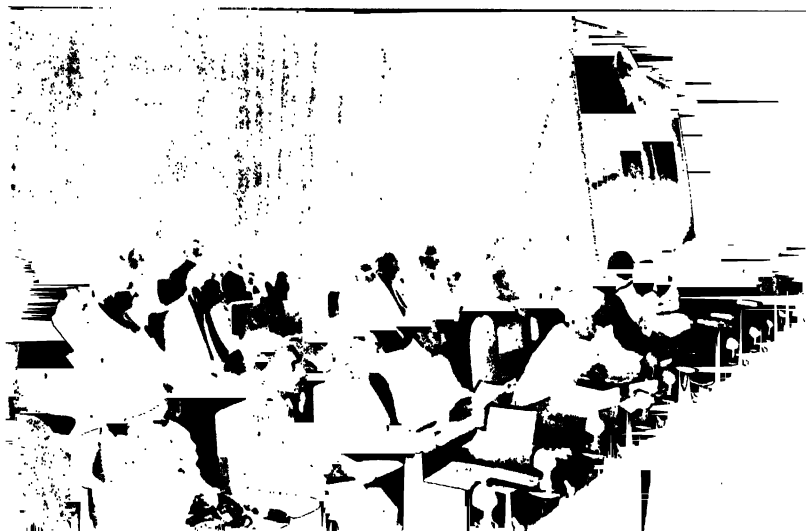
You have another doctrine which is associated with this country and which was given expression to in the song which was sung at the beginning of this meeting:

Come ye Aryan, come non-Aryan, Hindu, Muslim, come,
come ye English, come ye Christians, welcome every one,
come Brahmin, cleanse your mind and clasp the hand of all,
come ye outcast, come ye lowly, fling away the load of shame !



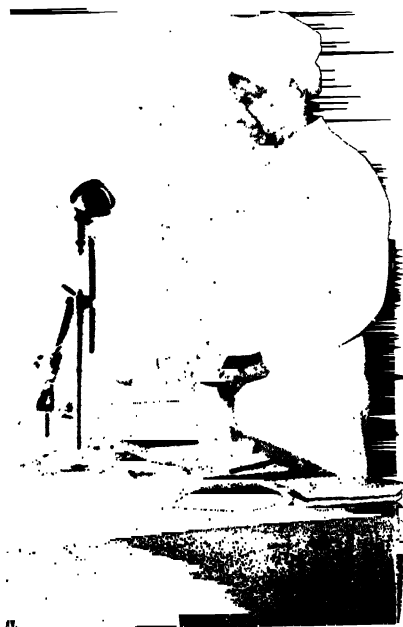
Inaugurating the 8th Radio Sangeet Sammelan at the New Auditorium of A.I.R., New Del.
5 November, 1961

Inaugurating the second phase of the Tagore Week Celebrations, New Delhi, 11 November
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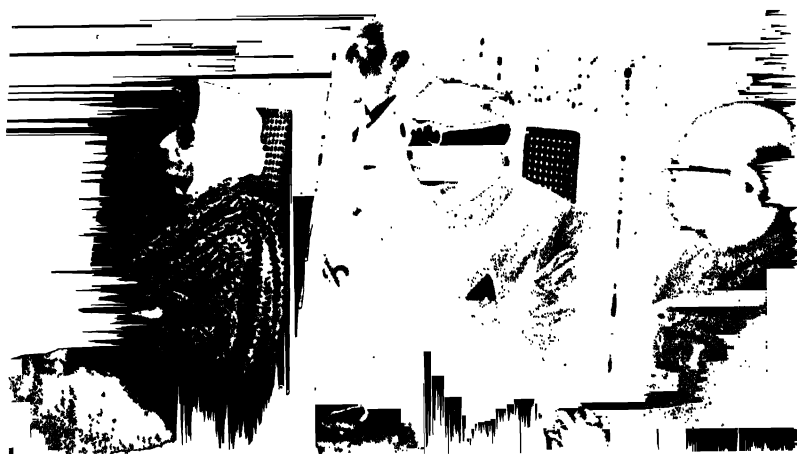


At the concluding session of the International Literary Seminar organized by the Sahitya Akademi and the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, 14 November, 1961



Delivering the inaugural speech at the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Indian Council of Medical Research, New Delhi, 18 December, 1961

At the "National
Exhibition of Art
1962" organized by
the Lalit Kala Aka-
demi, 21 January,
1962





Handing away the Sahitya Akademi awards for the year 1961 at a function held at Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, 31 March, 1962

Speaking on the occasion of the presentation of the State Awards for Films for 1961, New Delhi, April, 1962



Come, one and all, to the Mother's crowning,
the sacred jar is yet to fill,
and all must join that the water be consecrate
on the shore of this vast sea of humanity
that is India.

India welcomed people of different communities, of different races, of different religions and bound them all together with the bond of unity, not by effacing differences but by permitting the differences to grow in an atmosphere of harmony so as to contribute to a rich, majestic kind of consummation.

If today we are to settle down in this world in some kind of harmony, we have to give up the idea—'either this or that'. We have to admit that both these things may have some kind of value. Time is a great innovator, time has a great healing power. Human nature need not be regarded as something rigid and static. It is resilient, it responds to the challenges which the world throws. Granted therefore the healing power of time, the resilience of human nature, the mutability of social and political institutions, if we understand all these things instead of having a kind of armed co-existence we will have a kind of active co-operation among all the people of the world so as to produce not this civilization of yesterday or that but a civilization of tomorrow which will embrace all the values which are to be found in the civilizations which have come together.

Tagore, to my mind, pleaded for this light of humanity and he was convinced, being an optimist, that this light of humanity would disperse the dark and menacing clouds which are hovering over us. He was sure that man is a creator, man is an artist, man can bring about changes.

There is nothing like 'he has always been like this, he will always be like this and therefore there is no change possible in him'. That is untrue to fact, this is untrue to history. All the developments which we have made in this world are due to the perpetual changes, the adaptations which human nature has been making to the challenges of the world. We have this challenge and it is our duty, the duty of all writers, literary artists, to respond to these changes and make the world a happy home for humanity.

Do not be led away by the clouds which are before us. Beyond

the mists there is the brilliant sun-coloured deity. It is on that note that I should like to end this speech so far as my few words are concerned.

LIBRARY OF THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE, BANGALORE

IT is a great pleasure to be here and lay the foundation stone of the Library Building of the Indian Institute of Science. While the main work of the scientists is in the laboratories, libraries also have an important place. The results of scientific research are recorded in books and periodicals and anyone pursuing research has to be up-to-date in his knowledge of what has been done if he has to advance knowledge.

The scientific revolution will benefit the transformation of the human condition. The vast underfed and underdeveloped peoples wish to take a great leap into the twentieth century. By a knowledge of new techniques the revolution of rising expectation will be reached. A library will have not only books and periodicals relating to the various branches of science but also the humanities, arts, literature, philosophy and religion. A study of these subjects is essential for turning out not mere technicians but human beings.

In his recent Rede Lecture, Sir Charles Snow makes out that science is the most dominant feature of our age, it is the most impressive and powerful creation of the human mind. We cannot afford to ignore the results of science. We cannot afford to be illiterate in science. We must know something of the machine tool, of the second law of thermodynamics. There are scientists who read nothing of literature, to whom books are mere tools, and books which deal with the past, what is dead, what has been superseded by technical triumphs, are useless. They feel that what is called the honour of the human race is something inimical to human well-

Speech at the laying of the Foundation Stone, 16 November, 1961

being and progress. All this may be an over-simplification. The cleavage is not so sharp as Sir Charles Snow represents.

There is a lot of specialization and it is becoming more severe. The evils of specialization should be checked. Darwin, for example, complained that he could not appreciate Milton's *Paradise Lost*. On account of attention to minute details one side of his mind became warped.

Humanities provide the foundations for the spiritual life of mankind. The works of art, the great literary masterpieces, the philosophical and religious insights are valued for all time. They represent the enterprise of the human mind.

Science is also a source of basic spiritual insights and values. The sense of cosmic mystery is induced. The greatest scientists are profoundly spiritual men. There is a unity of knowledge.

The scientific temper helps us to get rid of the non-essentials of religion. We must combine humanism with a sense of responsibility to scientific knowledge.

INAUGURATION OF THE FOURTH ALL INDIA WRITERS' CONFERENCE, BOMBAY

I AM happy to be here and inaugurate the Fourth All India Writers' Conference. At a time like this, when we are rebuilding our country and striving to bring sanity and decency in international relations, the responsibility of the writers is great. What we call culture which has the effect of emancipating us from our narrow prejudices and group loyalties is the work of millions of solitary individuals whose deeds and works negate frontiers. They build on the foundations of their own experience, their suffering and joy. They build for all. Great literature is the free creation of the human spirit, the spirit which is bound up with body, mind and intelligence though not exhausted by them: *yeṣu vyāvartamāneṣu yad anuvartate tat tebhyo bhinnam*. So long as we overlook this spiritual dimension of our existence, our works do not spring from the depths and so do

Inaugural Address, 17 November, 1961

not touch the depths. When we live in spirit, the Eternal is with us at every moment, we do not suffer from the transience of time. Around the uproar of empires and nations works a literature making the human face more admirable and the human heart more tender and human nature more dignified. Man's existence as an individual is increasingly threatened by influences—political, social and commercial. We are not able to be ourselves. In all periods men have been subjected to psychological pressures of past times. Religion exacts a considerable extent of conformity in our lives. As we increase in our efficiency, we are able to put psychological pressure with our new tools and concepts. The individual is becoming more and more vulnerable. It is therefore essential that the true inwardness of the human individual is preserved, if our productions are to be of value. Compassion and mercy are the qualities exalted by literature. It does subject man to whatever is fallen in him, anger, hatred, terror. It helps man to be kind and compassionate. It adds to the inner freedom of the individual, diminishes the load of psychological suffering and bondage weighing on men. We have had at least thirty centuries of creative literature from the early R̥g Veda to Rabindranath Tagore, whose birth centenary we are celebrating this year. I need not mention the living writers. They do not only mirror life but tell us how life has to be raised in quality. They do not merely recreate existing social forms and practices; nor do they take refuge in dreams. Literature maintains an equilibrium between what is and what we aim at. Our literary artists serve truth and freedom and not falsehood and oppression. Literature should not become the tool of hatred and oppression. There is so much injustice and oppression in the world.

An artist does not judge but helps us to understand why events happen as they do. Truth is mysterious, elusive and has to be won anew in each generation. Every generation is charged with the remaking of the world. The special task for our generation is to keep the world from destroying itself. The world is threatened with disintegration. We should overcome the temptation of hatred.

WILSON COLLEGE, BOMBAY

I AM happy to be here and associate myself with the centenary of the affiliation of the Wilson College to the University of Bombay. The University itself was established in 1857 and this college was affiliated to it in 1861.

Three of your Principals served as Vice-Chancellors of this University: Dr Wilson, Dr Machichan and Dr McKenzie. Your college thus has been responsible for shaping to a large extent university education in this province.

You have produced a large number of students who rose to eminent positions and contributed to the social and public life of the country. Even today we have men like Shri Morarji Desai, Shri Ashoka Mehta and Shri Dange occupying important positions in the Central Parliament. I have no doubt that you will continue to send out good public-spirited persons in the years to come.

It is a pleasure to know that more than half your students are girls. I hope when they pass out of the college and enter life, they will exert a beneficial influence on the life of the community. Many today denounce the predominance of the 'masculine' values, the scientific and the technological at the expense of the human and the imaginative. There is no danger of lop-sidedness in the education imparted in this institution.

The name which your College bears should be an inspiration to you all. Dr Wilson loved India and things Indian. He made himself proficient in many Indian languages. He worked for the uplift of the people of this country. As you reminded us, he wrote to a friend in 1827, 'I rejoice when I think that I shall live, labour and die in India'. He had a purpose in life. Many of us simply drift. That is the cause of our neurotic condition. In many prosperous countries of the world we find that the attention of the people is absorbed by ways and means for securing increased wealth. They do not have enough time to devote to the development of their inward life. Inattention to the spiritual side of man's nature and the dominance of secular

materialism are responsible for the unhappiness among mankind. We have more mental hospitals and the suicide rate is also on the increase. Any act of suicide is born of a conviction of the bankruptcy of life. Unbearable anguish born of emptiness, meaninglessness of life, makes people resort to suicide. Why is that so?

A combination of material needs and scientific achievement has let loose the force of secularism which poses a threat to human values. There is a great deal of intellectual and technical skill but the ethical and spiritual vitality is at a low ebb. The mind of man, ever young and eager, though standing on earth as on a footstool, stretches out its hold into the stars. There is nothing wrong about science; what is wrong is the use we make of it. Education should give us a purpose. Man's completeness results from the pursuit of truth and its application to improve human life, the influence of what is beautiful in nature, man and art, and spiritual development and its embodiment in ethical principles. Coarseness of feeling, darkness of mind and the very casual way in which we inflict cruelties—all these indicate inward emptiness.

An institution like this is not interested in producing safe men but men who have the courage to dare to seek truth, create beauty and be free. They should have the power to break through the vicious circle which now threatens to end the world. Religion is an effort to transcend the human condition. Man can do it. Religion is not metaphysical speculation or ritualistic piety. It is the cleansing of the inward life. The creative spirit is incarnate in man. All religions affirm the potential divinity of the human being. Hindu thought affirms that the Divine is in man: *etad ātmyam idaṁ sarvaṁ tat satyaṁ sa ātmā tat tvam asi śvetaketo*. Chāndogya Upaniṣad: *deho devālayo nāma*. Genesis, Chapter 1, verse 27 reads: 'And God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him.' For St. Paul the temple of God is within man. The sanctity and freedom of the individual require to be safeguarded. All progress is due to the spirit in man. It is my hope that this institution will give equal attention to the scientific and humanistic sides of man.

Teachers have the most important responsibility in the building up of our community. Their function is not merely to spread knowledge but to set an example of true greatness of spirit. If the teachers in this institution embody the Christian spirit and appreciate the qualities of men of other faiths they can contribute to the spiritual life of this country. A truly religious man will be devoid of pride and self-assertion. He will be a man of humility. Education should be a training in humility : *vidyā dadāti vinayaṃ*. *Vidyā* itself is called *vinaya*.

I hope in the years to come this institution will send out men and women of civic conscience, public spirit and provide enlightened leadership in all walks of life.

SANSKRIT VIŚVAPARIṢAD, BOMBAY

ON account of the absence of our President, Dr Rajendra Prasad, I happen to be here to inaugurate the seventh session of the Sanskrit Viśvapariṣad. The Pariṣad has completed ten years of service to Sanskrit and those responsible for this organization and effort deserve our congratulations.

Sanskrit enshrines the literature and art, science and medicine, politics and economics, music and education, philosophy and religion of our country. H. H. Gowen in *A History of Indian Literature* (1931) observes (p. 8): 'Indian literature has an intrinsic value which no remoteness avails to destroy. For sacredness, variety and continuity scarcely any other may compare with it; certainly none surpasses it. As for sacredness no other scriptures, not even our Bible, may compete with the Veda in its continuity or in the matter of general acceptance.'

It is wrong to assume that Sanskrit is essentially the language of the Hindus. Even as we read Plato and Aristotle, Kant and Hegel, Shakespeare and Milton, Browning and Tennyson, we should read

Inaugural Address at the Seventh Session, 15 December, 1961

the works of Bādarāyaṇa and Jaimini, Kaṇāda and Gautama, Vyāsa and Vālmiki, Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. There is a great deal in Sanskrit literature which is not religious or even philosophical in character. Many countries in the whole East which are not Hindu by religion manifest the influence of Sanskrit culture and appreciate its value even today. Sir Aurel Stein refers to ' the continued popular use of Sanskrit even among Mohamedans '. He quotes as evidence the Sanskrit inscriptions to be found in a number of old Muslim tombs. Sanskrit literature has a vast and varied array of characters which are quite familiar in the East.

The basic problem of modern life is the growth of a world community. The tumult and the excitement, the anger and the violence, the perplexity of spirit and the ambiguities of expression are the pangs of the birth of something new. We have to work for this new order with all the strength and capacity we possess. •

All the classics of the world, in whatever language they may be written, belong to the human race as a whole. In these days when different cultures, religions and peoples are thrown together, to qualify ourselves for citizenship in the new world which is emerging, we must adopt a proper, tolerant attitude towards other people's ideas and ideals.

The culture associated with Sanskrit gives us a view of religion which is not exclusive but universal, a kind of religion which is most suited to modern conditions.

The aim of India has been to realize the one amongst the many not by effacing the differences, but by retaining the differences and uniting them all. To perceive the one amongst the many, to forge unity in variety, has been its fundamental purpose. If we plead for co-operation between the great Powers of the world it is because such a philosophy stems from our tradition.

The tradition of the West has been somewhat different. It believes in either this or that and not both this and that. When Judaism appeared it did not wish to tolerate men of non-Jewish creeds; when Christianity came up, it came into conflict with Judaism. When Islam arose we had the Crusades. Islam was regarded as an apostasy from Christianity. Today it is a conflict between the

Communist system and Christian democracy. Both these are representatives of the Western tradition. Both these groups which are accusing each other of pushing the world to the brink of a thermo-nuclear war represent the spirit of exclusive truth which will destroy the world in its effort to subjugate it to the acceptance of its own creed. The Western tradition is represented by one of the characters of Dostoevsky in *The Brothers Karamazov*: 'This craving for community of worship is the chief misery of every man individually and of all humanity from the beginning of time. . . put away your gods and come and worship ours, or we will kill you and your gods. And so it will be to the end of the world, even when gods disappear from earth.' So long as faith in the exclusive and absolute finality of our systems is accepted, the safety of the world is precarious.

India has never believed in ambitious schemes of world salvation. Her different religions did not make the dangerous effort to press all the vitalities and forces, hopes and aspirations of many groups, the cultural and ethical aspirations of sensitive individuals, into the restrictive and confining pattern of its scheme of world salvation. Her prophets and seers had no pretensions to omniscience. They insisted on the inadequacy of linguistic symbols and logical concepts to represent the Supreme Reality which they encounter in their moments of highest insight. They affirm the human capacity to apprehend the spiritual truth. Religion is for them a personal encounter with the Supreme Reality. The best way to describe the Absolute Reality is through poetry and silence. Intellectual statements, propositional forms are bound to be varied. The Ṛg Veda, the Upaniṣads, the Bhagavadgītā, Śaṁkara, Yāmūnācārya and others point to this. There is no need to quarrel about the names we give to God or the ways we adopt to approach Him.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this session of the Sanskrit Viśvaparīṣad and hope that you will deal with problems relating to the study and spread of Sanskrit language and literature. It is gratifying to know that new works are produced in Sanskrit and research work is also progressing. I wish your deliberations success.

FEROZE GANDHI COLLEGE, RAE BARELI

IT is a pleasure for me not unmingled with great sorrow to associate myself with this function. I came to know Feroze Gandhi rather well after I came to Delhi in 1952. In the last years of his life he became an institution in the Central Hall of Parliament. It is nothing more than the barest truth to say that his complete absorption in whatever work he undertook strained his physical frame and ultimately broke it. The day on which he made his most significant speech in Parliament on the L.I.C. affairs I met him at a party in the evening along with his friend, K. D. Malaviya, and he said, 'I am completely exhausted'. He worked day and night collecting details, making sure of his facts, marshalling his arguments. He adopted the same attitude in whatever subject he undertook.

I confess that I did not know till recently about his work for this College. When the citizens of Rae Bareilly met and organized the Rae Bareilly Degree College Education Trust, he was naturally elected its President. Action followed, an application was made to the Agra University for affiliation. Land was acquired and money collected and the College grew up. In 1960, in spite of his illness he visited this place, his last visit only a week before his death, raised funds of over Rs. 1,25,000 and hoped to raise more when the blow fell.

His meticulous attention to details and his sense of beauty, his interest in education, all found expression in his work for this College. You have done the right thing, the most appropriate thing, in naming the College after him. He passed away but his dedicated spirit and devoted work will remain to inspire us all. It must be some comfort to Shrimati Indira Gandhi, her father, her children and all those who loved him that his *yaśaḥ kāya* will not pass away. There is no *jarā*, age, or *maraṇa*, death, for it.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi has great interest in the welfare and training of children. They need to be properly brought up if our future is to be safeguarded.

Inaugural Address, 16 December, 1961

Thomas Jefferson said: 'If you expect a country to be ignorant and free you expect what never was and what never will be.' Education makes for freedom, true freedom, not slavery of mind or subservience to authority but intellectual courage and integrity of spirit. They have to be men and women of tomorrow, not of yesterday. Time is a great innovator. New changes require a new outlook. It is a scientific age; we need the scientific spirit, the questioning mood, impatience with things as they are, and the urge to delve into the hidden and the mysterious in life and nature.

A lively development and use of intellectual curiosity, imaginative power, technical skill, acceptance of goals that stretch one's talent and energy to their uttermost extent and the simultaneous rejection of all clichés of thought, sterile styles and forms and social manners that hamper individual aims and efforts, these are the characteristics of the young person who is anxious to defend his individuality against the ever-present and corrupting force of habit and tradition and social pressures for conformity. All this is possible with single-minded devotion.

vyavasāyātmikā buddhir ekena kuru nandana

bahu śākhāhy anantās ca buddhayanor avyavasāyīnām

"Absolute attention is absolute prayer." said Simone Weil. We are defined by what we do with our attention. We must attain that increased purity and concentration of attention that will lead to more meaningful perception.

This country is said to be a religious one but religion does not mean metaphysical speculation or ritualistic piety. It is inward wisdom, the development of social conscience.

May this College have a personality of its own and keep up the ideals of intellectual vigour, appreciation of beauty and dedication which we associate with the name of Feroze Gandhi.

THE INDIAN COUNCIL OF MEDICAL RESEARCH, NEW DELHI

I AM happy to be here and inaugurate the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Indian Council of Medical Research. You have completed 50 years of useful work. It was started in 1911 under the name of Indian Research Fund Association and later renamed Indian Council of Medical Research. The main aims were the undertaking of research, spread of knowledge and the adoption of experimental measures in connection with the cause, cure and prevention of disease.

We have also regarded health as the basic requirement for efficiency. It is the essential condition for the development of our possibilities, intellectual, cultural, spiritual. If we do not put in enough work, get easily fatigued, it is due to the lack of physical efficiency. We do not exalt inefficiency, physical, mental or spiritual. We try to get over it : *sarve santu nirāmayāḥ*.

In the early years the work was confined to the financing of researches in the field of communicable diseases, and these researches were conducted mainly by officers in the Pasteur Institute and the Kasauli and Guindy institutions. The researches conducted in these institutions were not negligible. The new vaccine for the cure of rabies, the cause and treatment of *kālā-āzār*, researches in connection with cholera, malaria, tuberculosis and leprosy have been beneficial to the country.

Now the Council encourages research work in medical colleges also. You are keen on increasing the number of research workers. I hope that when a Research Service is organized and facilities provided, your work will also increase.

While I congratulate you on the work which you have done, in the same period of fifty years from 1911 to 1961 great progress has been made in medicine and surgery in other countries. We have seen so many miracles of modern medicine. We are more beneficiaries than benefactors. We should correct this imbalance.

We have in our country talented young men of imagination and

intellectual courage capable of first-class work. Facilities are today available in a larger measure. Co-operative work requires to be encouraged. But, unfortunately, owing to bickerings and jealousies, the atmosphere has been spoiled. I hope conditions will improve and our workers will feel happy and concentrate on research which is vital for the development of human welfare. There are certain diseases which are baffling in character like cancer as well as common cold. We are talking about family planning and are trying to devise an oral contraceptive which is bound to become popular even in the rural areas. It is my hope and desire that your work in the next fifty years will be considerably more significant and beneficial not only to our country but to humanity.

THE KALĀKṢETRA, ADYAR

I AM happy to be here and inaugurate the Silver Jubilee celebrations of Kalākṣetra with which I have been nominally connected for the last twenty five years from the time it was established in January 1936. Among the institutions devoted to fine arts, especially music and dance, Kalākṣetra occupies a prominent place. For the building of a nation we need not only sciences and technology but arts as well. We try to remove poverty by the application of science and technology. They may help to contribute to material welfare. Poverty is not the only source of unhappiness—*na vittena tarpaṇīyo manuṣyaḥ*. For true happiness we need illumination of the mind, love of beauty and joy of service.

Kaṁ paramātmānaṁ lāti grhṇāti iti kalā. By means of them we grasp the eternal. *Kṣetra* is holy ground, a *tīrtha*, a sacred place. All art is sacramental. It is the bridge, *setu*, between two worlds, ignorance and wisdom, *sarvaśāstra prayojanaṁ tattva-darśanam*. The purpose of all art is *ātmasaṁskṛti*, refinement of the spirit, *ātma-saṁskṛtir vāva śilpāni*.

Arts enrich the human spirit and enlarge our capacity for the Silver Jubilee Celebrations, 27 December, 1961

enjoyment of beauty. They please our ears, the senses and eyes, feed our imagination and stir our emotions. They alter profoundly our consciousness of the world and our attitude towards it. Arts are not merely the means for entertainment; this is an abuse of its power and an insult to the character and intelligence of the people. The people should be educated to appreciate the higher forms of music and dance. We should not merely give what the public want, but educate them to want the true and the beautiful.

In this institution where different schools of music and varied types of dance are taught, there is unconscious national integration. Students from all parts of the country and even from abroad are trained here. The artists who are trained here are found all over India and the performances of the Kalākṣetra artists are appreciated all over the country. The other day I saw Tagore's *Shyāmā* staged by the artists of this school in Delhi. I have seen the dance-dramas composed by this school, scenes from *Rāmāyana*, *Kumārsambhava*, *Ushā-pariṇayam*, *Kuravanji*, etc. Music and dance have an international appeal.

The whole atmosphere breathes a spiritual note. The institution is affiliated to Madras University for the *Sangīta-śiromaṇi* course. Publications in connection with the M.M. Swaminatha Ayyar Library, the dye-research laboratory and the weaving centre run by Kalākṣetra are doing well and the *saris* produced here are in demand all over the country. Coloured photography and microfilms are also taken.

Shrimati Rukmini Devi takes great care in organizing these dramas. Her devotion to the arts, imagination and skill, and, above all, love of music and dance are responsible for the great appeal. She is essentially a creative artist. She has been able to attract dedicated workers in music and dance. These are responsible for the success and reputation of the Kalākṣetra.

THE NATIONAL ART EXHIBITION

I AM glad to be able to be here this morning and open the National Art Exhibition which is to be held for the first time in Rabindra Bhavan. Rabindranath has made memorable contributions to literature, music and painting. He is beloved of all the Muses. It is, therefore, most appropriate that in this building, which is named after him, we should have this first exhibition of outstanding works of art created by us.

It is now increasingly recognized that a balanced view of education should be adopted. In addition to intellectual training, imagination should be fostered and the emotions refined. The inquisitive mind, the intuitive heart, the sensitive spirit and the searching conscience should all be developed. In this age of science and technology, we should remember that the tree of life is something quite distinct from a grid of steel. Even as we try to remove poverty by the application of science and technology, poverty of mind requires to be removed by fine arts. Man does not live by bread alone though he cannot live without bread. Material poverty is not the only source of unhappiness. We should serve not the power interests of the community but its human interests. Man is not mere clay on the whirling potter's wheel of an increasingly dehumanized society. He is a master of his social environment, a creative force in himself, working for human purposes. He is not merely a Pavlovian dog with conditioned reflexes trained to serve the power interests. He is not a guinea pig or a monkey tested in the hands of a cosmic experimenter for life beyond this planet. Aesthetic and spiritual values contribute to the making of a full man. Man's creative side is nourished by art. In man are gaiety and laughter, the lust of the flaming life and the lure of the flashing eye.

Whatever work we do—driving a taxi, laying bricks, typing letters, writing a book, we should do it well, to the best of our ability and aim at high standards.

I should like to congratulate all those whose works have been selected for exhibition and hope very much that our standards will

steadily improve. A nation, if it is to retain its position among the highest, should contribute effectively to the growth of art and culture.

SURYAKANTA TRIPATHI 'NIRALA'

I AM honoured by the invitation to unveil the portrait of the late Shri Suryakanta Tripathi 'Nirala' though I do not claim any familiarity with his writings, and would have preferred someone else in my place who could do justice to the life and work of this great literary figure of modern India. Anyway I am happy to associate myself with the function convened to pay homage to a writer who has enriched Hindi literature by his poems, novels, short stories, social satires and essays.

The truly great are not the men of wealth or possessions, not men who gain name and fame, but those who testify to the truth in them and refuse to compromise whatever be the cost. They are determined to do what they consider to be right. We may punish their bodies, refuse them comforts, but we cannot buy their souls, we cannot break their spirits. Whoever possesses this invulnerability of spirit even to a little extent deserves our admiration. Nirala had this quality.

Literature expresses the spirit of the age to itself. It is a dialogue between the past and the future. History is lifted into continuity, the continuity in which different currents flow together to unite men. We appreciate the value and validity of the great ideals which have sustained our country and strive to re-orient them to suit the needs of the present. These truths are ever old and ever new. A live culture has for its pattern continuity and change. In some periods continuity is more evident and in others change.

There has been a steady progress from the time of the R̥g Veda down to our own period. These great spokesmen of our culture took their stand on what was ancient and pushed it forward to respond

Speech on the occasion of unveiling of the portrait, New Delhi, 11 February, 1962

to the challenges of their times. Shri Nirala came under the influence of some of our great thinkers like Swami Vivekananda and Rabindranath Tagore. He spent his early life in Bengal.

Recent decades have been revolutionary in their temper. This process of rapid change costs us a great deal. All growth is painful, all transition is tragic. This character of growth was reflected in the life and work of the late Nirala. He conveys to his readers the torments, the delights, the challenges of the creative process. He was not an escapist but accepted life. He had the courage to be non-conformist. He was an enemy of the *status quo*. He was a rebel, a revolutionary.

Shri Nirala edited for some years a magazine called *Samanvaya*. Reconciliation is the spirit of our culture, a spiritual humanism that overleaps frontiers, softens rivalries, tells men of what unites them, rejecting the provincial and the divisive. That is the spirit we need today more than ever.

He had a lofty conception of the dignity of the human being. He suffered for the submerged masses. He had warmth of understanding for men and women who never had a chance to grow to the full extent of their lives. He protested against the rigours of caste and untouchability, against the subjection of women. He tried to break with the past which was servility, exploitation, oppression, and leap into the future. For millions of people life simply waited on death. Nirala wished to see human life grow into a thing of beauty.

Let this portrait be a reminder to us of the progressive, democratic, humanist outlook of the late Nirala, who was a man in revolt against traditional views in social life as in art and literature.

THE MADRAS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

I AM greatly honoured by the invitation to take part in this meeting of students—past and present—of the Madras Christian College convened to commemorate a number of important events

10 March, 1962

in the history of this College: the 125th anniversary of the School founded by John Anderson in 1837, from which the College grew; the centenary of the arrival of Dr Miller, the first Principal of the College, in December 1862; the silver jubilee of the opening of the college buildings in Tambaram, on 30th January 1937; the retirement of your Principal, Dr J. R. Macphail after 37 years of devoted service, and the appointment of the first Indian Principal, Shri Chandran Devanesan who has just won a Harvard Doctorate. I congratulate all those connected with this institution all these years on their noble work for India and humanity.

I was in this College as a student for four years, 1905-09, for my B.A. and M.A. courses. The College was then in its former abode in Esplanade. It had on the staff men like Dr Miller, Dr Skinner, Professor Macphail, Dr Meston, Dr Hogg, Professors F. E. Corley, James Russell, George Pittendrigh, Mackenzie, E. B. Ross, Alexander Moffat and Henderson. Among the Indian members of the college staff were such eminent persons as S. Rangayya Chetty, P. Lakshminarasu, K. Chinnatambi Pillai, O. Kandaswami Chetty and Joseph Muliylil. It is difficult to imagine a better team of European and Indian members of the staff.

Among the students were quite a number who have occupied eminent positions in our public life. Some are happily with us. Some were Governors, Members of the Executive Council, Ministers of the Central and State Governments, Chief Justices and Judges of the High Court and of the Supreme Court, Vice-Chancellors, as well as many fighters for freedom. Many others, not known to name and fame, had acquired while at college a quality of life which gives meaning to life itself.

It is natural for students to imagine that the time they spent in the College was not only the best period of their life, but the most glorious period of the College itself. That is how we thought in our time. I have no doubt that you think that the period which you spend here is the most glorious for the College and the most useful for you. We are tempted to think that the College is not what it was. But we should remember the editor of *Punch* who, when told,

'Your paper is not what it was!' replied, 'Madam, it never has been'. The golden age is not in the past, it is ahead of us in the future.

In these 125 years the country has passed through many changes. The institution was founded twenty years before the rebellion of 1857. It saw the struggle for the achievement of independence and its attainment. Educational objectives changed during this period.

At the time I was a student, even the philosophy courses did not pay much attention to the study of Indian thought which has had a long history of over three thousand years. Soon this defect was remedied to some extent. We are making an earnest effort to conserve, foster, study critically Indian culture and its development. It has been perpetually renewing itself and this process is still at work. In the four memorable years I spent in this College, I acquired a certain interest in the classics of East and West. They have been my constant companions all these years. An attitude of trust tempered by criticism, faith restrained by scepticism, contentment enlivened by curiosity grew up and I tried in that spirit to study the great religions and philosophical systems of the world. My presence here today is an act of piety, which recalls my past association, and records my debt to this institution.

The College is now adapting itself to the vast and unique opportunities that surround it. The Constitution has set before itself the great ideals of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity.

We have in our country a large amount of wealth which is concentrated in a few hands: for many years the richest men of the world lived here, but the poorest have also been here. There are many who have no homes, who live in the streets and pavements, in the highways and on river banks. We have rich natural resources which we are trying to discover and develop but our people are still very poor. We are attempting to remedy this imbalance. Yet the gap is wide. We have great scholars and scientists, but illiteracy and obscurantism are widespread. We are striving to improve the quality and extent of educational opportunities. We must win freedom for all our people. We have to adjust ourselves to the needs of a scientific and technological age and an egalitarian democracy. With the

increasing emphasis on the improvement of material conditions, there is a danger of our losing our concern for moral and spiritual values. In this country for centuries we have had sages, saints and prophets who have spoken to the people and influenced their minds, and Gandhiji who gave expression to the spiritual qualities of our race. By the depth of their insight they enriched the world also. Their wisdom transcends the barriers of races and nations, languages and religions.

True religion does not dehumanize us. Some of our practices belie our deep convictions. Gandhiji and Tagore castigated us for our lapses from the ideals we profess and exhorted us to get rid of the social inequalities which have corroded our society. Narrow nationalism, race discrimination, economic exploitation and social servitude are deviations from the religious spirit. If today our relations with our former rulers are utterly free from bitterness and rancour and most friendly, it is traceable not only to the teaching and example of our great leaders but also to the silent work of intellectual co-operation in institutions like this. No wonder that our people built a statue of Dr Miller in his own lifetime with the inscription: 'A missionary teacher known alike for his piety and public zeal whose services in the cause of education are probably unsurpassed in India'.

We have listened to the two prayers just read to us. What our country and the world need today is spiritual wisdom and its expression in life—unity and brotherhood. For lack of these, the world is in a perilous condition. Our horizons have widened; the world is awake as never before; the great continents of Asia and Africa are aroused. Mankind has bestirred itself. Enormous developments of science and technology have posed a challenge. How are we to meet it? Are we to use the scientific developments for the betterment of humanity or for its destruction?

When the century opened, we had confidence in the sway of reason and the inevitability of progress. This optimism about the automatic rise of human welfare was shattered by the First World War. A number of assumptions on which the peace of mind of our predecessors rested was shaken. Increase of scientific and techno-

logical knowledge does not necessarily make for human welfare. Disillusionment followed the victory. The enthusiastic crusade to make the world safe for democracy paved the way for dictatorships. Men's moorings were shaken. The generation immediately after this war was said to be a 'lost generation'. Lack of faith, the development of varied cults and the spread of nihilism became prevalent.

In the Second World War, on the 6th of August, 1945, the atom bomb was used in Japan. It was a challenge to man. He should either grow or perish. Since we still cling to the outmoded national sovereignties which recognize no superior, and to military methods, there is general anxiety. Many of us spend our time lamenting our sad plight, deploring the hardships imposed on us. It is our task to bring together the broken pieces of time now out of joint. The Beat generation, the angry young men, suffer from loss of faith in the human individual. Anxiety should not lead us to self-defeating despair; it should spur us on to a determination to reconstruct our society. It is the spirit of initiative, adventure, enterprise of man that has achieved all the progress from the time when we lived in caves dressed in skins up to the present time when some of us are circling the earth. By undertaking risks, facing dangers, we have been pushing back the frontiers of knowledge. It will be wrong to crave for security; yet we wish to conform to a condition of society which we have outlived. The political assumptions and attitudes which gave us security in days past are today the sources of insecurity. No nation or group of nations can claim any supremacy. It is in its own interest that other nations have opportunities equal to those which it has had itself.

The call today is to change ourselves. This cannot be achieved by mere intellectual advances. Reason may help us to understand life but to transform it, our natures have to be remade. If we have fear of the future, fear of the burden thrust on us, fear of ourselves, fear of the abysses revealed in our unconscious, fear of our neighbours, fear of speaking out, fear of remaining silent, if we are afraid that we are likely to destroy ourselves and others through modern weapons, we should ask ourselves whether the present condition is beyond repair. It is tempting to throw up one's hands in despair by saying that the

problems are too intricate, and society too complicated, that there is nothing that any individual can do. A little disturbance in Korea or Cuba, in Laos or Berlin, may unleash untold destruction. Our scientists proclaim that our conduct is entirely determined and that there is not much left for us to do by ourselves. Our thinking is dominated by determinism, thanks to Darwin, Marx, Freud and Behaviourism.

It is in troublous times, in anxious times, that we should strive for lucid thinking, serene contemplation, for growth in wisdom. A college has the proper setting for the exercise of such activities. We seem to be always on the move, running from something we do not see or understand. We do not seem to have any time for quiet reflection or devout prayer.

The years from now on till the end of the century may be the most crucial in human history. We have to choose between destroying and rebuilding our civilization. Are we to cultivate our anxiety and declare ourselves beaten by events, abdicating our individuality, or are we to stand up and assume responsibility for guiding this age out of its morass? The challenge is as momentous as it is inspiring.

When we speak of spiritual wisdom, we take our stand on the human individual, on his capacity to grow in his consciousness. Life is an unending process of spiritual growth.

India is essentially a religious country. All the living faiths of the world have their place here. When we study different religions, we should try to emphasize their highest expressions and their profoundest thoughts. When we do so, we discover that though they differ in important points, they agree, more than what appears on the surface. In their conception of human personality, they are in agreement. Man lives in a world of imperfection, of sorrow. He can complete himself, perfect himself. All the prophets have told us 'be not afraid!', *mā ſucaḥ*. Man can gain enlightenment about his own nature and be saved. Enlightenment remedies the insufficiency of man. All the religious scriptures proclaim that the Divine is in man and with him: *deho devālayo nāma, jīvo devas sanātānah*. St. Augustine said: 'Thou art more deeply in me than I am in myself.' When we speak of the Divine, the Universal, we refer to a level of being which may not be wholly comprehended.

There is behind or in or at the root of our being a Self which we cannot know because it is itself the Knower. It is not a part of what we normally think of as the self. We cannot know it as we know ideas, desires or emotions or memories. They will not be there if there were not a Universal Spirit in us. There is a point in our nature where the human spirit is in contact with the Divine. The two dwell together as two birds on one tree as the Upaniṣad says. When we develop this universal element in us, our self becomes charged with divine energy and power.

Religion is a protest against every tendency in modern life to reduce the person to the status of a thing. Man cannot be known exhaustively from outside. He is not the product of his environment or the resultant of his own past. There is a mystery in him, a vital centre, which gives him greatness, freedom and responsibility, which helps him to move forward. The Spirit in us is the eternal creator.

The Spirit in man through intelligence and will can move society forward. The leaders should realize that they cannot save the world by keeping it divided. We require to develop a community of understanding and it is difficult to achieve it so long as national leaders are obsessed with power. It is our egoism, individual and collective, our self-centredness, our self-love that cause all our difficulties. We should realize our common spiritual parentage, learn the values of human life and the basic beliefs of the different cultures. We all belong to the same household of God. This conviction gives us freedom from fear, *abhaya*. It leads us to adopt an attitude of friendliness to all.

True greatness consists in the development of a spirit of freedom from fear and freedom from hate. When we have that spirit, all the wealth of the world cannot buy it, bend it or break it. True leadership consists in the development of this quality of serenity, humility and compassion. It is my hope and prayer that this College may send out young people capable of guiding our society on the right lines.

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF CHILDREN'S ART, NEW DELHI

I AM happy to be here and open this International Exhibition of Children's Art. This is becoming an annual event, disclosing to us the great artistic possibilities which our children have. Almost all children whose imagination is not inhibited look forward to this event. It comes as a great relief from the generally frightful boredom of class work where not unoften they are taught things by weary, absent-minded teachers. Here when they paint they feel free and express themselves freely. They surrender themselves to spontaneity. Children have an unsophisticated outlook and have great love for colour, movement, rhythm and music.

In painting generally they are experimenters. They look at nature and their imagination is stimulated and they make us feel that man is at home in this world. They look at fellow human beings and have respect for them. Their reverence for life, love of goodness and abhorrence of cruelty make them the creators of a friendly world. The impulses which children have require to be made articulate. We should not kill their curiosity or warp their emotions.

This art exhibition which gets paintings from all parts of the country and from many parts of the world discloses the natural solidarity of the child mind before indoctrination sets in.

We speak a good deal today of national integration. There are several ways in which our sense of belonging to the whole nation is frustrated by the exaltation of smaller groups of caste and community. Here by getting the children of the country to participate in this exhibition, we try to overlook these smaller loyalties and emphasize the larger interests.

We are now busy with the Disarmament Conference at Geneva. Armaments by themselves do not indicate anything except that we live in a world of insecurity and fear and want to shelter ourselves under the security of military strength. Nationalism, while it is of great advantage in a cultural sense, is not so in a political sense in the modern world. Inter-dependence is the prominent feature

of our society today. Even if we wish to, we cannot get out of this society. We wish to establish a peaceful, well-ordered, international society. The sense of belonging to one world requires to be developed. Those who belong to our nation we admire; those who do not, the aliens, we dislike. It is this that is at the basis of the present anarchy. Human beings are achieving so many things in different parts of the world. We should all be proud of their achievements. It is time we develop a sense of world nationalism. The whole of humanity is our true nation. Many nations of the world today are participating in this exhibition of children's art. That is one way of drawing people together and making them feel that we are all of one fellowship. Newton said, 'Men build too many walls and not enough bridges'.

The future belongs to children. Our great leaders, Gandhiji, Tagore, were fond of children. So is Nehru today. Shri Shankar Pillai has been working in this direction for many years now and every year his activities are increasing. The care and well-being of children have become now a separate branch of knowledge and we are attempting to have a separate children's library, museum, films and theatres. A Children's Book Trust is also in the making. We are grateful to Shri Shankar Pillai for the attention he is paying to the educational and recreational requirements of our children. It is a pleasure for me to inaugurate this exhibition, and I hope many people will visit it and more children will participate in these activities.

THE SAHITYA AKADEMI AWARDS

I AM happy to be here today and give away these awards on behalf of the Sahitya Akademi. It is a matter of great regret that our President is slightly indisposed and is unable to be present here.

In ancient times the integration of this country was due to the spread of the Sanskrit language from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari and from Kutch to Assam. Today its vogue has diminished. So many languages have come up and the Sahitya Akademi is attempting to

Speech at the distribution of the awards, 31 March, 1962

do a little to bring together the literary writers in the different languages of this country and I think this is one essential way in which there can be communication of ideas, moods and sentiments from one part of the country to the other. It is an effective means of integration.

Literature, as its very name in Sanskrit implies, makes for fellowship, togetherness, reconciliation of peoples. It exalts generally the qualities of mercy and compassion. In the long stretch of over 3,000 years of creative literature in our country, the qualities exalted are these: mercy and compassion and not hatred and oppression.

As you know the *Rāmāyana* starts with a sense of grief experienced by the author when he saw a wounded bird drop down. Kalidasa tells us not to put the sharp arrow into the tender flesh of the deer. There is only one real objective of all great literature. It is *karuṇā* or compassion.

Every generation is charged with the attempt to remake the world. It is charged with the task of healing the divisions, breaking down the antagonisms which divide the world. In our own country today there are so many fissiparous tendencies cropping up, and one way in which we can break down these divisions and effect consolidation at the level of mind and heart is by means of literature. Every great work of literature is based on some essential experience. The experience may be brief or long. It may be in childhood or adolescence; intense passions of joy and sorrow, these are not peculiar to races or nations. They are common to the whole of humanity.

A great work of literature generally negates frontiers and in these days of wide communication I have no doubt that the great works will be read not only in our country but in other countries just as we read the great works of other countries here. A literary artist is not limited merely to mirroring the social life. It is his duty to break down bad social forms and practices and raise the human quality. Merely mirroring things as they are may be a kind of realism, describing utopias may be a kind of romanticism but we have to effect a balance between what things are and what we aim at.

We are all attempting to raise the quality of human life. The most effective means for achieving this purpose is by outstanding literary contributions. Empires and nations may rise or fall but these works have an enduring value.

At a time like this when we are divided amongst ourselves and the world is divided and is threatened with destruction, what is essential is to establish some kind of solidarity. That is what all literary artists, if they are true to themselves, should aim at. A true piece of literature is not merely a tract for the times but it is a work for all time; if it is a true piece of literature, if the man has intensity of experience and is able to express his ideas in clear and shining words, in penetrating ways, these things will endure for long.

The most effective means of achieving national integration and international solidarity is by means of these literary productions. Literary artists have therefore a great function in our society and in our country. It is, therefore, their duty to reckon with the evils from which we are suffering, educate the human mind, remove those evils and establish a more decent kind of society. It is the only way in which we can improve the quality of life of our people.

I congratulate all those who received the awards today, congratulate them on the recognition which they have received. I hope that will be a stimulus to them to produce more work and better work and others who have not received the awards will, I hope, strive to win the awards in the years to come.

WRITERS' ROLE IN NATIONAL INTEGRATION

A GAIN I happen to be here on account of the slight indisposition of the President of the Akademi, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. We wish him speedy recovery, and hope that he will be with us again very soon and that in a day or two he will shake off his illness. That is our hope and wish.

Inaugural Address at the meeting of Writers organized by the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1 April, 1962

We are discussing the writers' role in national integration. The recent elections in some places have disclosed the great power which communalism, casteism and linguism have on our people. The danger to our country is not from outside but it is from within. Our enemies are not somewhere distant from us but they are within ourselves and within our country. These are the things that we have to fight if our country is to grow into a modern civilized nation.

The Sahitya Akademi is doing its best so far as the linguistic controversies are concerned. It is bringing the writers together, bringing the peoples together by its translations. Industrial development also is bringing about some kind of consolidation. Many of our chief cities are multi-lingual in character—Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi. You find here people speaking different languages. Universities, scientific laboratories, these are also bringing peoples of different provinces into close and intimate touch with one another but these are all small things.

There must be a large purpose binding the people together, making them feel that they belong to one great whole. The difficulties of linguism are gradually being overcome but communalism, sectarianism, the emphasis we lay on religious affiliations, these are more difficult. We call ourselves a secular State. That does not mean that we do not profess any religion or that we are indifferent to religion. It only means that we do not identify the State with any particular religion and that we respect all religions and give them full freedom to express themselves and grow.

Everyone, whatever may be his religion, is at liberty to profess, practise and propagate what he believes so long as he does it within the limits of decency and decorum. That has been the tradition of this country. The secular concept is not something which is an innovation after Independence. That has been the tradition of the country.

Here religion has meant a state of mind, a relationship with reality, a way of life. Any one is said to be religious not because he indulges in metaphysical speculations or observes certain ceremonies or goes to a temple or a church. He is truly religious if he is remade, if there is a transformation in his own nature, a man who is able to say that he has felt the reality in the pulse of his being.

We started saying *aham brahmāsmi*. The Buddha says: *Bodhi* or Enlightenment is an element which is in every human being. Jesus tells us: I and My Father are One, I am the Truth, the Way and the Life. Many people in Islam have suffered martyrdom because they expressed themselves in the same way, saying 'I am the Truth'. The saying is attributed to the Prophet: If you know the Self, you know the Lord.

You find therefore this idea of religion as a state of illumination, as a displacement of ignorance by wisdom, as a state of enlightenment, is common to almost all the religions. When we try to express this contact with the Real, this communion with Reality, we have adopted a very catholic attitude; said that the Absolute of experience cannot be embodied in any absolute of logic or language. You cannot have any linguistic expression or a logical proposition which brings together all these things.

Then you find that that relationship to Reality is capable of varied expressions and that religion also is a way of life, the hospitality which we extend to all this. A truly religious man will not discriminate between man and man, *nirdoṣaṃ hi samaṃ brahma*. That *brahman* is faultless, it is *sama*, it is equal, it does not try to make any distinctions between man and man. So long as we subject people to varied kinds of humiliation and disabilities, we may profess to be theists or believers but we are actually unbelievers. We deny in our practice what we profess in our theory.

So it is that religion has to be interpreted in a broad sense, in a sense which is consistent with our past tradition, a tradition which has allowed the Jews, the Christians, the Parsees and others to come here and settle down and make India their home and go on according to their own lights. We never tried to impose our beliefs, our dogmas or our ways of life on people who have entered this country. Even if there had been lapses from that ideal, these lapses illustrate the validity of the fundamental principle that we should be hospitable to every way of belief.

Intolerance, hatred, oppression of religious minorities, these things are not in our proper tradition. Not that we have not indulged in them but if we indulged in them, we were departing, deviating, so to say, from our own professions and ideals.

Caste is another thing which has come here. Whatever may have been its justification once upon a time when people of different tribes and communities came together, today it has no justification at all.

Many people of all communities, of all religions, have protested against that from the early times. The theists, Nanak, Kabir, Ramanuja, Ramananda, those who have been influenced by the Oneness of the Supreme Spirit, tell us that we are doing something which is not right. Times without number we have been told that we are all born unregenerate, we become by our own effort regenerate.

This world was *ek varna*, of one caste, at the beginning. *Karma kriyā vibhedena cāturvarṇyam pratiṣṭhitam*: by means of *karma* and *kriyā* you had the differentiation of castes. We have to get back therefore to the original thing that we are all born unregenerate, we have to become regenerate by our own exertions and efforts.

The first reference you have to *patitaḥ*, or the fallen being, in the *Chāndogya* tells you, 'they are the fallen beings who are guilty of murder, theft, adultery and drunkenness.' Fallen, that is the word which is used in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. Ethical standards are the only basis for distinction among men. We have to get back to that fundamental criterion which we have had and that is the only way in which caste can be reformed altogether.

Unfortunately, as I have said on the previous occasion inaugurating the National Integration Conference, caste has ceased to be a social evil. It has become a political evil and an administrative evil. We want to get our votes and we set up candidates suited to the people who have to vote. If it is a Nadar constituency, we set up a Nadar. If it is a Harijan constituency, we set up a Harijan. If it is a Kamma constituency, we set up a Kamma. That is what we have been doing. It is therefore essential that politics should as far as possible be lifted out of this kind of morass.

As I started by saying, our troubles are within. The sources of disintegration, conflict, are located within ourselves and until we are able to change our nature, these things cannot be removed. I want to say that human nature is not anything static. It is infinitely malleable. We have had progress from the Stone Age

down to our own day. We have changed and changed. The moment we cease to change, we die. Therefore it is that we should take into account modern pressures and try to transform ourselves to suit the modern conditions.

Writers through their publications can give a proper perspective to their readers. You establish a communion between yourself and your audience, and if the ideas which you introduce are noble, are of good report, truthful, you will spread enlightenment among the people themselves. When we are, therefore, face to face with this particular problem, the responsibility of the writers should also be regarded as enormous and I hope that you will do your best to spread right ideas, sane thinking and proper feeling. If you are able to do so, you will have done your share in the building up of our country and the building up of a new world.

STATE AWARDS FOR FILMS

I SHOULD like to congratulate the winners of the awards for feature films, children's films, documentary films and educational films. We have had some winners on an all-India basis and others on a regional basis. Regional awards have been made in ten languages. Kashmiri, Punjabi, Sanskrit and Urdu have not found a place in this year's awards. Children's films have not been recommended by the Regional Committees. I hope in the years to come all languages will do worthwhile work and obtain recognition. All films are educational, directly or indirectly. They are the great instruments of public education.

We sympathize with the difficulties which the members of the Judging Committee have experienced in the process of selecting films for the awards. Sometimes they had to sit for eight hours a day and the suggestions made by Shri Diwakar, who was for some years Minister for Broadcasting and Information, will, I hope, receive the consideration of the Government. Our new Minister with his

Speech at the distribution of the awards, New Delhi, 21 April, 1962

well-known interest in cultural matters, will, I dare say, view with sympathy the suggestions made.

Films have come to occupy an important place in our lives. The producers, the directors and the actors and actresses especially have become familiar to the ordinary people. The names and faces of hundreds of our artistes are known to our people. Many of our people feel a deep personal bond with them. They are looked upon as creatures apart, strange and aloof, radiant personalities living in an enchanted world of music, colour, movement.

In the hands of great film producers, films have a mission to raise the intellectual, artistic and ethical standards of our people. Box office considerations should not be the only concern of film producers. Films are produced not merely for making fortunes but for influencing the minds of our people. So long as the profits are substantial, we seem to be satisfied.

In the film world as in other fields, our besetting aim is self-satisfaction. We should aim at excellence, improvement of standards. We should not stir passions and hatreds but spread a knowledge of right ideals.

Children's films especially should not dwell on the lurid, the brutal and the decadent. They have a demoralizing effect on their minds. Films depicting the marvels of science and the adventures of man in space-flights will be exciting. They not only excite but exalt. They give us pride in the wondrous mind of man.

We are building a new India and a new world. We should teach, therefore, a new way of life, a way which will change the minds and hearts of our people. In our society there is a general decline in good manners, in dignity of behaviour, in tolerance. Our education has been sufficient to remove the positive directives in our life. It has not been able to give something in their place. There is a vacuum created in men's minds. That is why many of us are restless and neurotic. The void at the centre should be filled. Films should give us solace, refreshment and relaxation.

It is an ancient truth that the mind is dyed by the colour of its thoughts and films can give us the right thoughts, endow us with the right purpose.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

THE PRESENT CRISIS IN FAITH

I

THE DILEMMA

I AM grateful for this opportunity to speak to this large audience. I have looked forward for many years to a visit to this beautiful place and this famous University which has done so much already to foster mutual understanding among nations by a sympathetic study of the philosophies and religions, arts and literatures of the different nations of East and West. By its geographical position it is well suited for this task. May I express on this occasion my warmest felicitations to the people of Hawaii on their attainment of statehood and wish them well for the future? Perhaps the way in which the people of Hawaii have dealt with the racial problem and the federal concept which they have adopted may have some lessons for those who are engaged in building a new international order.

It is a truism to say that mankind is today in the midst of one of the greatest crises in history. Our predicament is due to the lack of adjustment of the human spirit to the startling developments in science and technology. In spite of the fact that the great scientific inventions have liberated us from servitude to nature, we seem to suffer from a type of neurosis, from cultural disintegration. Science has relieved us of grinding poverty, mitigated the tortures of physical pain. Yet we suffer from an inward loneliness. All growth is marked by pain. All transition belongs to the realm of tragedy. The transition that we have to effect today, if we are to survive, is a moral and spiritual revolution which should embrace the whole world.

We have had other revolutions in human history, when we discovered how to make a fire, when we invented the wheel, when we applied steam, when we discovered electricity. These are reduced to insignificant proportions compared with the present revolution brought about by the development of nuclear energy. The discovery of nuclear energy presents not only great possibilities of human progress but also the risk of immediate and utter destruction. It can move

Address to the University of Hawaii, Honolulu, 9 July, 1959

mountains, dig tunnels, build harbours, increase food production, bridge the gap between the well-fed and hungry peoples of the world and remove some of the major causes which hitherto led to wars; or it can bring death and destruction to the peoples of the world. Modern science enlarges the power of man to do evil as well as to resist evil. Humanity today faces a challenge of destiny. We can meet the challenge and build an international order which allows freedom of development to all the constituent States under a rule of law which is enforceable by a world authority, or the great power which we wield may destroy us in the duel between the two armed groups led by two great Powers.

The root cause of the cold war is fear and hatred of each other and not greed for possessions. So long as it continues, a war may result through a navigational error, a wrong image on a radar screen, a tired pilot, a sick officer or any other accident. There is conflict today between the goal of humanity as a family of nations, co-operating with each other in peace and freedom and the present system which gave us global wars, universal advance into the machine society and militant materialism. The future requires a radical change in our attitude to international relations. While we recognize the need for giving up the military approach to the settlement of international disputes, for subordinating our national loyalties to the good of humanity, our political leaders are continuing the old intrigues and threats, bargaining and manoeuvres as if the old weapons of bows and arrows, guns and grenades would prevail. Power politics which has been the guiding principle of the traditional system of inter-governmental relations still survives though disguised in different ways. The logical outcome of power politics in the nuclear age will be not world supremacy but universal genocide. An all-out nuclear war would mean victory not for any nation or group of nations but for death and darkness. Even if there is no war, the tests themselves are disastrous to human welfare. In a recent issue of the *Lancet* we read of the agony of future generations of little children who struggle in vain to live. Our misdeeds will blast their whole future. We must recognize that we have reached the end of the military road. When Calvin burned Servetus, Costello

observed: 'Burning a man is not defence of Faith, but the murder of a man'. To burn men, women and children by atom bombs is not the defence of a nation but murder of men, women and children. We are devising weapons for our defence against the enemies around us but the enemy is within us.

Nationalism is still a powerful force. After a world war of shattering dimensions the League of Nations was created. When the guns again began to roar the League collapsed. When victory came after the Second World War, the Charter of the United Nations was signed. It has not yet become a living reality. National rivalries persist even in U.N. meetings. While it strives to build a free and peaceful world-community, with a body of doctrines and a scheme of values which will engage the interests and energies of humanity as a whole, its work is hampered by conflicting power-groups. 'Our country, right or wrong' has been a sufficient guide to countless millions of people across the centuries. Those who see the work of the United Nations Organization and the powerful hold of nationalist fervour and the armaments race are profoundly disillusioned and feel that our civilization is on edge. They hold that there is nothing extraordinary in the thought that our civilization with all its wonderful achievements in arts and science, literature and philosophy may vanish in the same way in which many other civilizations in the past have perished. The Stoic doctrine of *ecpyrosis* teaches that the world would be destroyed by fire, the slate wiped clean and a new start made. Many leading theologians remind us of Scriptural statements about the end of the world and tell us that it may well be within the will of Providence that the human race should pass out.

Unfortunately those who are scientifically minded are prone to talk about the inevitability of human affairs. We are led to believe that the pressure of economic and political forces drives the world towards a catastrophe as relentless Fate does in a Greek tragedy. The course of history is a chain of causes and effects with which man is inextricably involved. Man is totally at the mercy of history. Man's hopes, fears and expectations have no bearing on the future. We are said to be in the grip of forces stronger than ourselves. In great affairs, we are told, there is more in the minds of events

than in the minds of the actors. Mass hysteria plays havoc with the lives of millions. The new wave of naturalism does not inspire human beings with courage and initiative.

Theological determinism robs the individual of his significance. God leads the cosmic process to its goal through His plan. The last pages of a book are already contained in the first pages.

If there are prophets of doom there are also prophets of hope, though they build hope on the abyss of despair. They ask us to search our consciences and find out our moral responsibilities in this nuclear age. Poets, philosophers and prophets have a compelling vision of the unity of man and perpetual peace. Even political leaders have testified to it. Tom Paine declared, 'My country is the world'. At the Founders' gate of the entrance to the campus of this University, you have an inscription of which the translation is, 'Above all nations is humanity'. To the elaboration of the consequences of this principle the various nations are slowly beginning to turn. It is no use depending on military methods.

The dilemma of the modern man is that though he despairs of life, he does not wish to die. The instinct for survival gives us hope. The enemy we have to fight is not capitalism or communism. It is our folly, our spiritual blindness, our love of power, our lust for domination. A gloomy anthropologist said in 1945 that putting a weapon like the atom bomb into the hand of an ape is guaranteeing the destruction of civilization. If we do not adjust ourselves to the incredible reality of the nuclear age, if we do not revise our old habits, if we do not recast our institutions, we will pass out.

We know that we should work for a new pattern of international relations but the power and pull of the traditional ways of life make us halting in our endeavours. We must be jolted out of our dogmatic slumbers if the future is to be saved. There is a conflict between ancient traditions and the emerging new ethos. All life is a perpetual conflict between the old and the new. The hero is the champion not of things become but of things becoming. The dragon to be slain is the monster of the *status quo*. The enemy is in the seat of power: he is the tyrant who uses to his own advantage his power and authority.

II

THE NEED FOR FAITH

There are many roads to mass suicide but only one way to human survival. It is the road of faith which inspires us with the strong hope of things to come. There is no crass causality in human affairs.

The conflict is between conscious purpose and unconscious impulse. Man is a compound of baseness and nobility, of intelligence and folly. We have to be saved from ourselves, from the infirmity, from the corruption in our own nature. The world is the home of the fallen man where reason should rule but actually unreason does. 'Neither was there any beast with me save the beast that I rode upon.'¹ By our effort we can resolve the conflict in us, diminish in our lives hateful emotions and increase love and fellow-feeling. We must fight in solitude the daemons which oppose our progress, the daemons of our own making. The need for a new accession of moral energy which will help to mould society into a new shape is desperate.

The discipline which helps us to change ourselves is religion. Shallow rationalism may suggest that, by taking thought, we may rid the world of its evils, remove the injustices and tragedies of common life. Only a moral and spiritual revolution in the name of human dignity can place man above the idols of economic production, technological organization, racial discrimination and national egotism.

Religion is not irrelevant to life. It has some guidance and help to offer to a generation which is perplexed at its failure to find satisfaction and is now groping for light. Only a living faith in God will enable man to overcome the paralysing sense of despair and create a less imperfect society.

III

DECLINE OF FAITH

The hold of religion on people's minds is, however, on the wane. In the issue of May 8, 1950, *Time* magazine reported a survey made among 2,000 young people between 18 and 29 years of age. Of the 79 per cent who said that 'they believed in the Bible', 77 per cent confessed that they never read it. What is true of the United States is more or less true of the peoples of other nations.

Under the influence of science and technology which are becoming universal, religion is being transformed into a messianic materialism. Even those who do not adopt this creed do not feel the need for any religion. The vast unknown which held the mystery of God is becoming the known. As our dependence on nature is diminishing, our need for faith is growing less. Besides, the infallible dogmas and doctrines fetter men's minds and impede the religious quest.

The new social order stresses different social needs. Whatever religions may profess, they have condoned and even perpetrated all conceivable crimes. Religious life and moral injustice cannot go together.

The exclusive, intolerant character of religion results in persecution and heresy-hunting and religious wars. It lets loose malice, hatred and uncharitableness among the followers of different religions. There is no need to kill one another about differences in the way of comprehending that which surpasses them.

The main causes of the decline of religious belief are traceable to the spirit of scepticism fostered by science, condemnation of religious attitudes in regard to social problems and the exclusive, intolerant character of religion which militates against the emerging world unity. Religion must either ground itself on firmer foundations or else admit its inadequacy in face of the deepest and greatest human need of the day. We cannot be content with psychologies of dread and anxiety or philosophies of despair and non-existence. Religions need to be rid of their irrationality, reactionary social character and of provincialism.

IV

SCIENCE AND RELIGION

It is not possible for many people to accept beliefs that are not reasonable. It is only in a spirit of free inquiry that scientific thought progressed. This very spirit of free inquiry saps the foundations of supernatural dogmatic religions. It has made faith unnatural to the millions of people to whose ancestors it was once natural. Passive faith has given place to critical questioning.

Under the influence of science a doctrine of Positivism has grown up which dismisses philosophy and religion as meaningless. Logical positivism holds that a proposition is meaningful only if it can be verified. The question whether God exists cannot be verified by observation. The very principle of verification is far from self-evident. It is, indeed, self-contradictory for there is no means by which it can itself be observationally verified.

We have philosophy whenever men become conscious of their existence through reflection. Every one of us has a right or a wrong philosophy. Wherever standards of value or canons of criticism are applied there is philosophy. Even those who treat philosophy as superfluous or irrelevant do so as the result of philosophizing.

When people attempt to frame a philosophical interpretation of the world, they are attracted by materialism. In the early days, Bertrand Russell tells us, the late Professor G. E. Moore wrote a paper which began: 'In the beginning was matter and matter begat the Devil and the Devil begat God.' After an outline of cosmic history the paper ended, 'And God died and next the Devil died and matter remained.' 'Whirl is King, having driven out Zeus.'

A scientific study of the cosmic process reveals to us a mystery at the heart of the universe. The men associated with the Royal Society in its early days believed that 'the Heavens declare the glory of God.' John Beale wrote of 'the lawful and religious delight which should result from beholding the curious and wonderful frame of this our visible world.' For Isaac Newton space was the *sensorium dei*.

'The wonderful contrivances' of the great Creator held Oldenberg in awe. The great naturalist John Ray gave his book the title 'The Wisdom of God manifested in the Works of the Creation.'

Faith must be related to reason. There can be no conflict between reason and religion. Faith in contrast to superstition cannot be irrational. Nor is reason wholly devoid of faith. Science, philosophy and religion, all attempt to reveal the truth which is ultimately one and all-inclusive. We cannot have different truths covering the same ground. Religion is the name for man's total conscious attitude toward life as it is found and enlightened by rational awareness and knowledge. The data of faith must have affinity with the natural knowledge which man has of himself and the world. The religious view requires to be harmonized with the picture of the world and of man which modern science gives us today. 'I am the mover of the tree,' the Upaniṣad says, *aham vṛkṣasya rerivā*.

All great scientific achievements are the work of the living spirit in man. The cosmic mystery is also the inmost being of man. The free human individual has a social side to him but so long as he remains a human being, there is a certain innocence at the heart of his being which defies all analysis. It is the subject in us which makes us capable of individual freedom and responsibility. We must reassert our ultimate power to redeem ourselves. We are not completely the victims of necessity. Kant's doctrine of transcendental freedom affirms a wholly free (noumenal) self located in a realm transcending the causally connected phenomena projected by the knowing mind. If we realize that we are not simply objects but subjects also, every day gives us a new chance, heralds a new life, even a new order of society.

God is not only transcendent to the world but is immanent in it. One of Kabir's songs represents God as saying :

O servant, where dost thou seek me ?
I am beside thee.
I am neither in temple nor in mosque,
I am neither in rites and ceremonies.
If thou art a true seeker,
Thou shalt at once see me.

Kabir says : " God is the breath of all breath."

We must use our reason to fight the superstitious beliefs and practices which have crept into religion. We can believe only in a just God, who is impartial to the saint and the sinner even as the sun shines on those who shiver in cold or sweat in heat. God is not angered by neglect or placated by prayers. The wheels of His chariot turn unimpeded by pity or anger. God is not mocked. He is *karmādhyakṣa*, the lord or supervisor of *karma*. If we repent for our sins and change our behaviour, God takes note of it, and assists us in our endeavour to improve.

Heaven and hell are not physical areas. A soul tormented with remorse for its deeds is in hell, a soul with the satisfaction of a life well lived is in heaven. The reward for virtuous living is the good life itself. Virtue, it is said, is its own reward.

V

ETHICS AND RELIGION

If the intellectual hypothesis of God as the explanation of reality is to be made into an experienced reality, our intellectual consciousness has to grow into spiritual realization, *anubhava*. Religion is a way of achieving union with that Ultimate Reality called God. Believing in the Ultimate Reality is not merely the end of a process of ratiocination but is an act of faith based on experience. Religion requires a growth from the unregenerate to the illumined consciousness called differently by different religions.

St. Paul, speaking to those who were not already believers, rightly begins the argument with the words, 'that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him though he be not far from every one of us.' St. Paul says :

'That ye put off the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts ;

And be renewed in the spirit of your mind,

And that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.'

The effect of the renewal is the birth of the new man. This new birth reveals itself in outward compassion.

'Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger and clamour, and evil speaking be put away from you, with all malice.

And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you.'¹

In the human mind, the primitive, the archaic, the infantile exist side by side with the civilized and the evolved. We have to keep up the struggle against the inertia and evil in us. All our enemies are within. The impulses which seduce, the flames which burn, spring from that inner region of ignorance and error in which we live. Man's glory is not in never falling but in rising every time he falls. The late Professor A. N. Whitehead says : ' Religion is force of belief cleansing the inward parts. For this reason the primary religious virtue is sincerity, a penetrating sincerity. Religion is the art and theory of the internal life of man.'² The way from passion to peace is by self-conquest. There is a nobler life than that of sinning and suffering. The measure of a man's saintliness is judged by the degree to which he has been able to overcome the frailties of his nature. Religion is not a way out of life but a way unto life. The realms of spirit and life interpenetrate. The general assumption that Hinduism negates social values and sacrifices material and cultural needs to a world-negating spiritual quest is not correct. It is true that when we have the vision of Reality, we feel that we are strangers in the outer, visible, alien world of appearance. We do not feel at home in it. We act in it impressed by the harmony behind the flux of the world. It is said that against the sole reality of divine being and the paramount need to realize it, all the rational and ethical effort involved in the human struggle is ultimately unreal and unsubstantial. But Indian thinkers have taught that there can be no transcendent realization without the conditioned effort. It is not quite correct to hold that Sāṃkhya thinks that the unitive knowledge of *brahman* is incompatible with social activity. If Sāṃkhya affirms that *brahman* alone is real and

1. St. Paul

2. In *An Anthology* (1953), p. 472

that nothing exists outside of *brahman*, it means that the phenomenal world is only unreal insofar as we fail to experience it as an expression of *brahman*. To eyes that are open to the 'One without a second', the world of becoming is a world of being in which it is possible to act creatively and in so doing to realize the One in the creative union of the two. The knowledge of Self is enjoined so that the knowing self may act.

In all religions the life-affirming and life-denying impulses confront each other. It is the interplay of these two impulses that has again and again renewed Indian thought and driven India forward on her tireless spiritual quest.

While a few Hindus insist on ultimate unity to the extent of rejecting diversity as illusion and renouncing all action, all desire, all that is corporeal, the majority of the Hindus look upon the unity as reality itself in diversity in creation and demanding devotion and love from the creatures. All religions demand the practice of love and compassion. The Atharva Veda says : 'Like-heartedness, like-mindedness, non-hostility do I create for you; do ye show affection, one towards the other, as does the cow toward her newborn.'¹ 'As a mother protects her only son even at the risk of her own life, so one should enlarge one's heart infinitely with compassion for all sentient beings.' True sacrifice is self-sacrifice as exemplified in the Servant songs of Deutero-Isaiah and it alone is acceptable to God and potent to rouse response in others. Hillel remarks : 'What is hateful unto thee, do not do unto thy fellow.'

Somewhere in the Talmud, I believe, there is a dispute over whether or not the world ought to have been created. The conclusion reached was that it would have been better for all concerned had the universe never come into being, but since it does exist, man ought to devote himself to the doing of good deeds. St. Paul says : 'I appeal to you by all the mercy of God to dedicate your bodies as a living sacrifice, consecrated and acceptable to God ; that is your cult, a spiritual rite.'² The Apostle says : 'Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.'

1. *ātmā jñātavya ity etat mokṣārtham na ca coditam karma-pravṛtti-hetutvam ātma jñānasya lakṣyate. Śāstra-dīpikā*

2. Romans, XII. 21

While all the religious teachers tell us that compassion gives us a motive for existence, a guide for action and a reason for courage and helps us to diminish the sum of human suffering, in the very name of the God of great compassion, abominable crimes have been committed in the world. It is not enough to believe in a God of love but we must love. The rains that make the lower plains fertile are formed in the upper layers of the atmosphere. The saints are the masters who are not stained-glass figures, remote and ethereal in their sanctity. There is something in them, which we would like to spread everywhere in the world. It is there but what it is we cannot say. It is there in their blood and bones, in the breath of their speech, in the lights and shades of their personalities, a mystery that can be lived but not spoken in words.

On the rock of moral law and not on the shifting sands of political or economic expediency can be built a civilized society with individual freedom, social justice and political equality. Truth, freedom and righteousness are essential to peace. The Evangelist tells us how 'the devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them. And saith unto him, All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me. Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan : for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and Him alone shalt thou serve.'¹

VI

RELIGION AND UNIVERSAL SOCIETY

In the new society we need a new universal religion. By it we mean not a uniform religion but a religion of awareness and love, of wisdom and compassion, *prajñā* and *karuṇā*, of truth and love. Religions must be cured of their provincialism and made to reveal their universality. This does not mean spiritual vagueness or ambiguity.

1. Matthew, IV. 8-10, Luke, IV. 5-8

Tolerance implies an elementary right belonging to the dignity of every man. The right to believe, like the right to live a free, unfettered life, is fundamental to the concept of brotherly love. We have had in our country peaceful co-existence of different religions. It is not mere passive co-existence but an active fellowship, a close inter-relation of the best of different religions. Co-existence is the first step and fraternity is the goal. We have not adhered steadfastly to these ideals and have suffered often. Yet the ideal has been kept in view and supported by great leaders like Ram Mohan Roy, Ramakrishna, Tagore and Gandhiji.

The view of tolerance is based on the conviction that all transcendental use of the logical categories, all attempts to submit the transcendent to the finite, are wrong. Nature and history announce God's presence but do not disclose his whole nature. Religions are cut off from one another by mutual incomprehensions. We are born or trained in certain traditions of religion. Loyalty to tradition does not mean imprisonment within it. We adopt different symbolic representations of the Supreme determined by our age, circumstances and upbringing. At the heart of every symbolic formulation lies that which is beyond form. We do need a form but it is not to be confused with the spiritual reality. The latter is one ; the former is diverse. Each religion is unique so far as its form is concerned. We can hold that our particular formulation is valid formulation of truth without denying the validity of other forms. We must develop those loyalties to the free mind and spirit which transcend the narrower loyalties of caste or class, race or nation. Whatever progress we make at the expense of these values is morally wrong.

The seers of all religions affirm that the various peoples of the world form a community with a common purpose and a common destiny. It is said that the whole world is the fatherland of a noble soul. The application of this universality of spirit requires us to look upon our enemies not as monsters of evil but as misled by their obsessions and as capable of change. History tells us that friends become enemies and enemies friends. We had three centuries of devastating wars between Catholics and Protestants and yet

Bishop Stephen Neill in his book on *Anglicanism*¹ says, 'Our best theologians have shown how Protestantism and Catholicism are two essential aspects of God's truth.'

In the settlement of international disputes we should prefer conciliation to violence, forgiveness to vengeance, negotiation to direct action. If this attitude, which is the only one consistent with faith in a Universal God, dominates our minds and hearts we may be released from our afflictions and draw near to the human hope of a universal society. Even as members of different faiths may retain their loyalties and yet work for a fellowship of faith, members of different national communities may 'seek and find fellowship beneath or beyond their present conflicts.' Faith in the Divine should inspire us all to work in a co-operative spirit for the cause of peace.

THE INDIAN APPROACH TO THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM

I

EAST AND WEST

THERE is no reason to believe that there are fundamental differences between the East and the West. Human beings are everywhere human and hold the same deepest values. The differences which are, no doubt, significant, are related to external, temporary social conditions and are alterable with them.

East and West are relative terms. They are geographical expressions and not cultural types. The differences among countries like China, Japan and India are quite as significant as those among European or American countries. Specific cultural patterns with distinctive beliefs and habits developed in different regions in relative isolation from one another. There were periods when China and

Address to the East-West Philosophers' Conference, Honolulu, 10 July, 1959

1. Penguin Series (1958)

India were pre-eminent in cultural affairs, others when Western nations became dominant. For the last four centuries Western nations aided by scientific development have dominated the East.

The world has now reached a stage of inter-communication. All societies are fast becoming industrialized and new sets of values are springing up. We are called upon to participate in the painful birth of a new civilization. If we are to live together in peace we must develop international co-operation and understanding.

It is for the political leaders to determine the practical steps by which the sources of power and communication now available to us can be used for closer co-operation and friendliness among the peoples of the world. No political understanding can be made permanent without understanding at the cultural level. Apart from its intrinsic importance, such understanding contributes to the enrichment of human experience. Facile generalizations are made by philosophers of history which are highly misleading. Hegel in his *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* says that 'Persia is the land of light; Greece the land of grace; India the land of dream; Rome the land of Empire.'

If we glance at the long history of India covering nearly five millenniums, we are struck by the contrasts of extreme situations, summits and chasms. The country rises, wavers, falls, shrinks into herself, tears herself to shreds and pieces and again endeavours to regain her greatness. She passes through different moods of pride, resignation, shame, detachment, excitement and adventure. Yet all through runs an idea which she is attempting to realize, a kind of equilibrium, a wholeness of human nature, which events and vicissitudes inseparable from all forms of life shake but do not shatter. The country is mobile on the surface but constant in the depths. India is a complex equilibrium with an extremely rich diversity. The country is not defined by any dominant race or religious doctrine or economic circumstances. We have a remarkable mixture of ethnical elements but the great tradition which has affected all her people is the work of human hands.

In a conference of East-West philosophers, it will be useful to

consider briefly the metaphysical presuppositions which are the formative forces of any civilization. Metaphysics is not an esoteric pursuit. It has an important place in the life of every reflecting person.

Philosophy is a wide term including logic, ethics, aesthetics, social philosophy and metaphysics. The last is concerned with the ultimate nature of things. The search for metaphysical certainty has been the source of much that is profound and significant in the history of thought. Metaphysics comprises two main fields: ontology, derived from the Greek word for being, what is, reality which exists in its own right and is not dependent on anything else; and epistemology which is derived from the Greek word for knowledge. What can the human mind know with certainty? How does opinion differ from knowledge? What is real? What can be known? These are the problems with which metaphysics deals.

One may indicate the Indian approach to the problem of religion by a reference to the first four aphorisms of the *Brahma Sūtra*, which is said to give the main purport of the Upaniṣads which are a part of the Vedas. The four *sūtras* deal with (i) the need for the knowledge of Ultimate Reality, (ii) a rational approach to it, (iii) the experience of Reality, and (iv) reconciliation of seemingly conflicting formulations of the nature of Ultimate Reality.

II

DESIRE FOR THE KNOWLEDGE OF REALITY

The theme of the first *sūtra* is *brahmajijñāsā*. It indicates man's desire to know the Real. There is dissatisfaction with the world. History, astronomical, geological, pre-human and human, appears to be an aimless process of creations and perishings from which no meaning for the individual human existence can be derived. We discern no principle in the whole chain of being which demands man's meaningful participation in the adventure of time. The world seems to be meaningless, vain and futile. It is *anitya*, transitory, and *asukha*, painful. Animals are subject to disease and decay but are

not capable of distress. The Buddha bases his way of life on the fact of suffering. St. Augustine speaks of 'the ceaseless unrest which marks the temporal life of the individual.' The consciousness of death is the cause of anxiety. Confucius writes:

The great mountain must crumble,
The strong beam must break
And the wise man wither away like a plant.

If man loses himself in the world and its diversions, his anxiety may be a brief, fleeting fear. But man is a thinking being. When he reflects on the finite and limited character of his existence, he is overcome by fear which is, as Heidegger says, 'more primordial than man himself.' When the fear becomes conscious of itself, it becomes anguish. The tragedy of the soul is added to the contemplation of the world as mortal.

The consciousness of the finiteness and mortality of all our achievements makes us ask whether there is anything beyond and behind the world process. If there were not a Beyond, we should have been satisfied with the world process. The suffering individual cries out in the words of the Upaniṣad—

Lead me from the unreal to the real,
Lead me from darkness to light
Lead me from death to eternal life.

asato mā sad gamaya; tamaso mā jyotir gamaya; mṛtyor mā amṛtaṁ gamaya

It is the presence of the Infinite that makes us dissatisfied with the finite. It reminds us of the word of God that Pascal believed he had heard: 'You would not seek me if you had not already found me.' Compare the confession in *Romans*: 'We do not know how to pray as we ought but the Spirit himself intercedes for us with sighs too deep for words.' The suffering is the result of the conflict in us. Man belongs to two worlds, the spiritual and the natural. He is *sad-asad-ātmaka*, being and non-being.

Existence is essentially a process in time. It is perched on a razor's edge, as it were, which divides being from non-being. Human being is involved in non-being. We were not; we will not be. What is the nature of being? What is the mystery of non-being which surrounds

and conditions existence as we know it? Being needs non-being for its manifestation. St. Augustine in the first chapter of his *Confessions* asks what his longing for God means. Does it mean that he has found God or has not found God? If he had not found God he would not know of God since it is God who gives him the yearning for God. If he had found God and knew him fully he would be incapable of yearning since he would be fulfilled and so would not have to struggle and suffer.

Karl Barth in his *Epistle to the Romans* has a notable passage relating to the inner, invisible conflict: 'Men suffer, because bearing within them... an invisible world, they find this unobservable, inner world met by the tangible, foreign, other, outer world, desperately visible, dislocated, its fragments jostling one another, yet mightily powerful, and strangely menacing and hostile.' Life is a perpetual drama between the visible and the invisible.

III

REASONED FAITH

The problem of meaninglessness cannot be solved by religious faith alone. The faith has to be sustained by metaphysical knowledge. We have to think out the metaphysical presuppositions and attain personal experience of the religious *apriori* from which all living faith starts. We need intellectual effort and spiritual apprehension, metaphysics and religion. Only reasoned faith can give coherence to life and thought.

The idea suggested by the Scriptures requires to be clarified by the use of reason. The worlds of reason and religion do not turn in different orbits. Indian thought is firm in its conviction that religious propositions should be grounded in reason.

The second *sūtra* makes out that God is the world ground, the source from which the world proceeds, by which it is maintained and ended, *janmādasya yataḥ*. How does it happen that there is something rather than nothing? Being is already there without reason or

justification. It is not exhausted by any or all of its appearances, though it is there in each one of its appearances. The world with its order, design and evidence of purpose cannot be traced to non-intelligent matter. Materialism is the theory which regards all the facts of the universe as explicable in terms of matter and motion. It explains all psychical processes by physical and chemical changes in the nervous system.

Though there are a few Christian theologians like Karl Barth who protest against the intrusion of reason into the realm of religious faith, the main tendency in Catholic and many Protestant forms of Christianity is, however, to use reason for the defence of faith. In his Epilogue to *My Life and Thought*, Dr Schweitzer writes: 'Christianity cannot take the place of thinking, but it has to be founded on it.... I know that I myself owe it to thinking that I was able to retain my faith in religion and Christianity.'

The *Brahma Sūtra* (1.1.2) takes its stand on the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* which distinguishes matter, life, mind, intelligence and spirit in the world process. In the world, to use Leibniz's words, 'there is nothing fallow, nothing sterile, nothing dead'. There are no sharp cleavages. The gradation from one order of being to another is so imperceptible that it is impossible to draw the line that shall distinctly mark the boundaries of each. Everything in nature is linked together. All beings are connected together by a chain of which we perceive some parts as continuous while others escape our attention.

We cannot account for this cosmic process if we do not assume the Divine Reality which sustains and inspires the process. Even as we admit a mystery behind the cosmic process, we recognize a mystery behind the flux of mental states.

Existentialism is not a phenomenon of modern times. It is one of the basic types of thought which appears in the history of philosophy whenever we stress the difference between the individual being of man and the being of objects in nature. There is a difference between the being of self and the being of things. Man not only *is* but he *knows* that he is. His being is open to himself. Knowledge is confined to the world of objects but the self is comprehended from within. There is objective knowledge as well as subjective comprehension.

Metaphysical thinking which bases itself on experience holds that nature is grasped with the concept of necessity and the nature of the self by that of freedom. Without this concept, our understanding of man's nature will be deficient and distorted. While both man and nature are the creation of God, the being of man is made in the image of God¹ and is therefore quite distinct from the being of nature. Man is not a *res cogitans* which, though distinct from *res extensas* is still a *res*, an objective concept and not the personal 'I'. We cannot understand man scientifically, as if he were only an unusually complicated object of nature. An objective account depersonalizes man and reduces him to a heterogeneous mass of fragments which are studied by the different sciences. There is the biological man, the social man, the political man and also the individual man who feels pain and joy, bears responsibility, does good or evil and is conscious of his alienation from himself when he ceases to be a subject and becomes an object.²

IV

RELIGION AS EXPERIENCE

A philosopher's loyalty to reason does not commit him to the proposition that the nature of Ultimate Reality can be apprehended only as an object of reason. Many philosophers both in the East and the West have reached the conclusion that reality is supra-rational, that it is not in its ultimate nature accessible to conceptual understanding, that religious insights are also genuine revelations of Ultimate Reality.

The third *sūtra*, *śāstrayonitvāt* may mean that the Supreme is the source of Scripture, or that we obtain the knowledge of Reality from Scripture. All philosophy starts from experience and returns to experience. Religion is not the mere affirmation of propositions. It is not simply an exercise of intelligence. It is the response of the whole man. It claims total allegiance though it may not

1. *Genesis*, 1.26

2. But I have that within which passeth show;

These but the trappings and the suits of woe. —*Hamlet*, I. ii

always command it. The Real is not an idea or a hypothesis. It should become an experienced fact. A non-discursive immediate cognition of the Real, *aparokṣānubhūti*, *lokottarajñāna* is possible. This is not a mere glimpse into Reality but a steady communion with it. As Boehme says, it is 'the country which is no mere vision but a home'. In spiritual experience we pass from time to eternity. This does not mean an extinction of the limited ego; it is liberation into the cosmic and transcendent consciousness.

The *śāstras* or scriptures are the records of the experiences of the seers who have grappled with the problem of Reality. Their claim to acceptance does not rest on the logical validity of a set of propositions about God or the historical validity of the reports about the activities of God. Such statements may be shaken by scientific or historical discoveries. The experience may be gained by any one who is willing to undergo a certain discipline and put forth effort.

Those who have the experience are the pioneers in the world of spirit. They walk by sight, not by faith. Authentic religion is based on the consciousness of being in direct relationship with the Supreme. This experience transcends all forms, all images and concepts. The union is effected in the central self which is the root of intellect and will alike. All religious utterances are vain attempts to deal justly with the meaning of the experience which has been attained.

The Buddha is called *guhya-pati* or the Lord of mysteries. He stresses *bōdhi* or the Enlightenment. In all its forms Buddhism insists on intuitive insight. The Zen discipline asks us to cut through the complexities of conceptual thought to reach a radical transformation of being and consciousness.

V

SAMANVAYA OR RECONCILIATION

The fourth *sūtra* deals with the reconciliation of the different reports of the seers about the nature of Reality as recorded in the Scriptures. Science leads to a reverent acceptance of mystery. Religion tells us we can have a personal experience of the Ultimate

Mystery. The philosophy of religion is based primarily on the data gained by religious men rather than on the rational concepts of abstract philosophers. We try to create out of the experience something that will save the memory of it. Whitehead tells us, 'Words do not convey it except feebly: we are aware of having been in communication with infinitude and we know that no finite form we can give can convey it.' St. Augustine says: 'We believe we know the inner mysteries, but we are still in the outer court.' *Nos initiatos credimus, in vestibulo haeremus*. Our descriptions are all partial truths and not whole truths. What is implicit in the Scriptural statements is exhibited in a connected system of thought.

There are two forms of the Supreme Reality: *nirguṇa* and *saṅguṇa*, qualityless and qualified. When we lead up to the Supreme from the observed data, the Supreme is conceived to be the Cosmic creator, governor and guide of the universe. When we experience the Supreme, it is understood to be transcendent to the world, lifted above all its categories and is described in negative terms. A great deal of zeal, passion and ingenuity has been spent on the talk of resolving the problem to which silence or adoration would seem to be the most adequate response. The nature of the Absolute is manifested by the comment of silence.¹ The Supreme is conceived in a twofold way according to Śaṅkara.²

In the *Mahopaniṣad* *Brahman* is described as void, as trivial, as unmanifested, unseen, inconceivable and qualityless.³ The Buddha says: Verily, there is a realm where there is neither the solid nor the fluid, neither heat nor motion, neither this world nor any other world, neither sun nor moon. This I call neither arising nor passing away, neither standing still nor being born nor dying. This is the end of all.⁴ St. Augustine steeped in neo-Platonism defined the Absolute in negative terms: 'God is not even to be called ineffable, for to say this is to make an assertion about him. The Real is

1. *mauna-vyākhyā prakīrtita para-brahma-tattvaṁ*,—*Dakṣiṇāmūrti stotra*
2. *dvirūpaṁ hi brahmāvagamyate, nāma-rūpa-vikāra-bhedopādhiṣiṣṭaṁ, tad viparītaṁ sarvopadhiavarjitaṁ*
3. *eṣa hy eva śūnya eṣa hy eva tuccha eṣa hy evāvyaṅkto 'dṛśyo cintyo nirguṇaś ca*
4. *Uddāna*, 80, E.T. by Woodward.

an unconditioned transcendent and can be grasped by a language without symbols'.¹

The popular religion of India consists in the worship of a personal God through prayer, devotion and dedication.

Organized religions strive to inspire the common man with a faith in the existence of God as revealed in or by the founder of a religious system. They also prescribe a discipline by which one can reach the Supreme. The Indian thinker wishes us to remember that God is above all the religious systems. He is without end or limit, though theologians attempt to set limits to Him.

The way in which we describe the Supreme is determined by the presupposition of our age, our tradition and personal upbringing. Time consecrates and what is gray with age becomes sacred to us. In this way the gods and goddesses of the people of India were identified with the Supreme. The insistence throughout has been on the inward vision and transformation.

The significant limitation of the competence of reason to the understanding of Reality is not inconsistent with a rational investigation of the nature of experience. When F. H. Bradley said in a jesting mood that 'metaphysics is the finding of bad reasons for what we believe by instinct' he suggested that our deepest convictions required to be vindicated by reason. It is the only way by which we can have a sure foundation for our beliefs. The revelations though self-certifying to the experiences may be only subjective wish-fulfilments, objects projected by the individual. As for the deities to whom offerings are made, some *Mīmāṃsākās* contend that they are of the nature of words only and are cognized through words, or are

1. Professor Paul Tillich in his article on *The Religious Symbol in Dædalus* (1958) pp. 14-15, 20, observes: 'The divine beings and the Supreme Being, God, are representations of that which is ultimately referred to in the religious act. They are representations, for the unconditioned transcendent surpasses every possible conception of a being, including even the conception of a Supreme Being. Insofar as any such being is assumed as existent it is again annihilated in the religious act. In this annihilation, in this atheism immanent in the religious act the profoundest aspect of the religious act is manifest. Shelley said in *Queen Mab* that there is no God but added a note: 'This negation must be understood solely to affect a creative deity. The hypothesis of a pervading Spirit coeternal with the universe remains unshaken.'

mental projections.¹ Mutually contradictory experiences are accompanied by strong subjective convictions. Hobbes is right in his observation that for a man to say that God 'hath spoken to him in a dream is no more than to say that he dreamed that God spake to him'.² The authenticity of an experience has to be judged by rational considerations.

Many people all over the world have clung with passionate intensity to beliefs in fiendish demons which never existed save in their imagination. It is by the employment of reason that we can repudiate such beliefs. Professor H. de Wolf writes about 'the worship of such fiendish deities'. 'There has been no lack of existential faith in them. In obedience to their supposed commands thousands have fasted, burned themselves, cast themselves from precipices, endured shame, fought fanatically, and offered their own children as bloody sacrifices. Will we condemn the use of reason by which great multitudes have learned that such gods did not exist, and hence have been freed from their tyranny?'³ Though reason may not be adequate as an organ for the apprehension of the Divine, it is useful as a critic of claims to such apprehension.

By the use of reason, Indian religious thought strives to rid religion of obscurantism and lift faith above superstition. If we practise diabolisms and condemn others, it is like Satan rebuking sin. The mythologic beliefs and dogmas form the content of a closed static religion. The intuitive vision of Reality which transcends the objective and formal elements gives life and meaning to them.

In an ancient Upaniṣad, it is said that we should attain an insight into Reality by *śravaṇa*, hearing, *manana*, reflection, and *nididhyāsana*, meditation. The first gives us scriptural teaching, the second a rational approach and the third the way to assimilate into our being the truth heard and reflected upon. These three are considered in the first three *Brahma Sūtras*. The reconciliation of authority, logic and life is suggested in the fourth *sūtra*.

1. *śabdātmakā eva devatā śabdabodhyā va mananā kalpita rūpā vā devatāḥ svikāryāḥ. Mīmāṃsā*, 2122
2. *Leviathan* (Everyman Edition), p. 200
3. *The Religious Revolt Against Reason*, p. 115

INTER-RELIGIOUS CO-OPERATION

I

THE BASIC INSIGHTS OF RELIGIONS

IN the present dangerous divided state of the world we may perhaps find in religions an overriding bond that would bring the nations together. Thanks to scientific developments distances have diminished and communications have improved. The greatest event of this diminished world is the discovery of the arts, literatures and religions of the East, especially those of China and India. If we are to evolve into a universal society, we must break down the barriers separating the East and the West and build bridges of understanding. The times are propitious. We need the will and the effort.

A scientific study of religions and their inter-relations in the past helps us to feel that religion is real only in religions which are particular and concrete. The empirical fact of the plurality of religions, each with its own peculiar character and structure, should not hide from us the transcendent unity of religions. The vital differences among the living faiths of mankind are over-arched by a fundamental unity of vision and purpose which embraces all mankind. If we can discern a common basis underlying the different modes of Christian thought from the Roman Catholic to the Quaker faith, from the Unitarian Church to the Salvation Army, students of comparative religion may find a common substratum of religions. The unredeemed situation of man, the longing for liberation, the recognition of the Divine Reality and the many ways to reach the Real are found in all religions.

All religions affirm that man is confronted by something greater than himself, which in contrast to human nature and all other phenomena, is Absolute Reality. It is the transcendent, the Divine, the other, the true being behind the world of events. God is the first principle of being, the ground and substance of all existence.

The Absolute Reality is also the Absolute Good for which man is athirst. Man needs not only to be aware of it but to be in

communion, in harmony with it. It is the condition which makes man feel at home in the world. God, who is the highest truth, righteousness, beauty and love, is man's highest good. He knows what we do not know, loves beyond our powers of loving and guarantees the achievement of the good even when our faltering efforts fail.

This transcendent Reality is immanent in the human soul. The human spirit is grounded in Godhead. The Upaniṣad saying 'That thou art', refers to this fact of Divine Immanence. The essence of the Buddha is present in every being. 'The Kingdom of God is within you', according to Jesus. For St. Paul the human spirit is the temple of the Divine Spirit. For St. Augustine God is 'more inward than my innermost being'. The Christian mystics speak of the 'birth of God in the ground of man's soul.' This is the doctrine of the second Adam. Christ is the first born of a new race of men. The Quran says that God is nearer to us than our artery in the neck.

The Eternal is present in the soul of man as its secret ground and it forms a bridge between the finite and the Infinite. From the spark of the Divine which is in every human soul, the greatness, the creativeness and the unboundedness of the human spirit is derived. The soul can escape from necessity, from the pressure of time. The self is partly determined and partly determining. It has creative power. Because man is a spark of the Divine, he has creative freedom. Insight into truth is the foundation of human happiness. The way of man's fulfilment is through sacrifice, love and service. By developing detachment and objectivity towards one's own needs and sufficient compassion for others' needs we grow into the likeness of the Divine. Mahāyāna Buddhism affirms that the great heart of compassion, *mahā-karuṇa-cittam*, is the inmost essence of the Divine and this heart is open to all. True universality of spirit consists not in knowing much but in loving widely. Renunciation, contemplation, prayer help us to attain union with the Divine. The saints 'pray without ceasing', in St. Paul's words. Their whole life, according to Origen, is 'one single great continuing prayer'. By it we not only ascend to God but attain the revelation of God in the heart of man. When the insight into truth is gained, passions are subdued, ill-will subsides and inward

conflict ceases. When the spark in us is released it becomes a fire which cleanses the earth. It can be released only if we end our narrow egoism, greed, anger, hatred, all the restricting appetites and passions which keep the individual locked up inside his mortal self. Every religion gives us a ladder to perfection which we have to climb by effort. The way to fulfilment is not like a mechanical escalator which takes us to the top when we get into it, though we make no effort.

Mokṣa, nirvāṇa, eternal life are not an escape from life but the realization of life's fullest possibilities, the perfection of personality. Religion is not only the way to God, but the way to man. It is not mere contemplation, 'the flight of the alone to the alone,' as Plotinus said. It is also a way of active service. After attaining Enlightenment, the Buddha preached to the people the sacred truth disclosed to him. *Sutta Nipāta* declares that love has no limitations. 'As a mother protects her one and only child with her love, so the disciples of the Buddha have boundless love for all beings.'

There is a temptation to keep away from the world. A Muslim saint, Abdul Quddus of Gangoh, writes : 'Muhammad of Arabia ascended the Highest Heaven and returned. I swear by God that if I had reached that point, I should never have returned.' This world negation is not the main tendency of religions. Meister Eckhart declared that if someone in his highest rapture notices a sick man in need of soup, it would be better for him to leave his rapture and serve the man in need.

We must reply to our adversary 'with mercy and goodness,' Lao Tse says. The *Mahābhārata* says : 'Even an enemy must be afforded appropriate hospitality when he enters the house ; a tree does not withhold its shade even from those who come to cut it down.' Man is bound to be on the move till the cosmic process achieves its end of the liberation of all beings.

The religious souls adopt a sacramental view of the universe. The world is not a private dream of man. There is no unbridgeable gulf between what is beyond and what is here. We need not abandon our life in time to reach the timeless. The Divine is here and beyond. Eckhart describes the seer as 'one who having looked into the sun, thenceforward sees the sun in everything.' After his enlightenment,

Fox found that 'all creation gave another smell beyond what words can utter'. The religious soul moves and acts in the world bearing all its shocks, with peace of mind and heart. In the midst of life's disharmonies, he keeps an equable temper.

To attain spiritual insight, inward piety, certain forms and rites are prescribed. The body of doctrine, myth, rite, cult and worship form the objective side of religion. These may differ in different religions but behind all these disguises there is the tendency to attain religious wisdom. We have to accept these forms to communicate the universal truth to those who are in a particular stage of history. What is permanent and universal is translated into something temporary and local. Tradition and environment condition both the vision of Reality and its presentation. These expressions cannot be stationary. Truth is not something given once and for all. Truth may be divine in its inspiration but it is always in human form. Professor A. N. Whitehead says : 'The trouble with the Bible has been its interpreters, who have sealed and whittled down that sense of infinitude into finite and limited concepts and the first interpreter of the New Testament was the worst, Paul'.¹

'By their fruits ye shall know them,' and not by their beliefs. We have in all religions the spirit of love and sacrifice, sincerity and obedience. Savonarola told his countrymen : 'Jews and Turks observe their religion much better than Christians, who should take a lesson from the way the Turks bear witness to the name of God.' In Lessing's *Nathan, the Wise*, we read, 'Nathan, Nathan, you are a Christian ; by God, a better Christian there never was.'²

The saints and devotees of all religions form the one great invisible community of God. Though they belong to different conditions of geography and history, they share these basic insights. They may be various in their thoughts and devotion but are constant in their vision of the Divine. The flowers which they offer may be of different kinds but the worship is one. In their view dogmatism and intolerance

1. *Dialogues of A.N. Whitehead*

2. Mr Marsh, an able lawyer who had lived many years in Madras, asked the missionaries to learn at the feet of the Hindus instead of trying to teach them. In fact the picture he painted of the Hindus and their religion was one which the most enthusiastic Hindu would have loved to emulate: (*Contd. on next page*)

are the products of spiritual pride and perversity. If we wish to move toward higher levels of freedom, we must break away from the constraining egoisms of the self.

The relations of one religion to others are not those of error and truth for they are all facets of a single truth, portraits of a single sitter. The saints tolerate even if they do not approve other visions. The Puritan divine, Isaac Pennington, said : ' All truth is a shadow except the last. But every truth is substance in its own place, even though it be but a shadow in another place. And the shadow is a true shadow, as the substance is a true substance.'

II

RESPECT FOR OTHER FAITHS

All religions seem to be varied manifestations of the essentials of true religion. Even those who acknowledge the existence of God admit the inadequacy of human ideas of God. What the atheist denies is an idea of God, not God Himself. What the theist affirms is not an idea of God but God Himself. We should not transfer the absoluteness which belongs to Divine Reality to its historical formulations.

Again even religions have their genealogies. They have borrowed generously from others. Modern phenomenology of religion points

'Indeed, when I turn my eyes either to the present condition or ancient grandeur of that country; when I contemplate the magnificence of her structures, her spacious reservoirs constructed at an immense expense, pouring fertility and plenty over the land, the monuments of a benevolence expanding its care over remote ages; when I survey the solid and embellished architecture of the temples, the elaborate and exquisite skill of her manufactures and fabrics, her literature sacred and profane, her gaudy and enamelled pottery on which a wild and prodigal fancy has lavished all its opulence; when I turn to the philosophers, lawyers and moralists who have left the oracles of political and ethical wisdom to restrain the passions and to awe the vices which disturb the commonwealth; when I look at the peaceful and harmonious alliances of families, guarded and secured by the household virtues; when I see amongst a cheerful and well-ordered society, the benignant and softening influence of religion and morality, a system of manners founded on a mild and polished obedience, and preserving the surface of social life, smooth and unruined—I cannot bear without surprise, mingled with horror, the idea of sending out Baptists and Anabaptists to civilize or convert such a people at the hazard of disturbing or deforming institutions which appear to have hitherto been the means ordained by Providence of making them virtuous and happy.' P. Thomas : *Christians and Christianity in India and Pakistan* (1954), pp. 179-180

out the striking similarities in the world of religious phenomena, rites, customs and ethical demands. Take the concepts of Virgin birth, the death and resurrection of the redeemer God, the inspiration of sacred scripture, the efficacy of grace, the use of the rosary, the conception of Trinity, the Kingdom of God, priesthood, monasticism—these are to be found in many religions and are not exclusive to any one. The picture of the Divine mother and the Child, Yaśoda and Kṛṣṇa, Mother Mary and her Child, the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy Kwannon remind us of the image before which all humanity has bowed. Speaking of Christianity, Mr Herbert J. Mueller observes : ‘ Its central figure of the Redeemer was at least as old as the Tritos Soter of the early Greeks, and its promise of personal immortality was still older, echoing through the history of timeless Egypt. From Babylonia came the idea of God as the maker of heaven and earth, from Persia the dualism of Satan and God, from Egypt the last judgment, from Syria the resurrection drama of Adonis, from Phrygia the worship of the Great Mother, from Greece and Rome the idea of universal law. From sources too ancient to be identified came its baptism and communion. From the various mysteries came other ritual elements of the mystery of its mass such as incense, vestments, beads, holy water, genuflexion and chanting. Without this ancient and cosmopolitan heritage, Christianity could scarcely have established its claim to universality.’¹ Religions at their highest adopt a view of positive appreciation of other faiths.

HINDUISM

Hindu thought from the period of the Ṛg Veda till our own times has adhered to this view,² *anantā vai vedāḥ* : endless are the

1. *The Uses of the Past* (1954), p. 189

2. ‘He (Shivaji) made it a rule that, whenever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to mosques, to the Book of God, or to anyone’s women. Whenever a copy of the Holy Quran came into his hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it to some of his Muslim followers. When the women of any Hindu, or Muslim, were taken prisoners by his men and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over them till their relations came to buy them their liberty.’

From the *History of India* (written in Persian by Kafi Khan, the Court historian of Aurangzeb)

Vedas.¹ They are capable of varied interpretations. Scriptures are held in great esteem by all religions.

Speaking about religion Gandhiji said: 'It is not Hinduism which I certainly prize above all other religions, but the Religion that transcends Hinduism, which changes one's very nature, binds one indissolubly to the truth within and ever purifies.' When the Indian people are said to adopt secularism, it does not mean that they support irreligion or materialism. They appreciate all faiths and respect all prophets. This understanding of other faiths helps the deepening of one's own faith, and its enrichment. 'Tolerance does not mean indifference toward one's own faith but a more intelligent and purer love for it. Tolerance gives us spiritual insight which is as far from fanaticism as the north pole is from the south. True knowledge of religion breaks down the barrier between faith and faith. Cultivation of tolerance for other faiths will impart to us a truer understanding of our own.'² It is true that the Hindu religion tolerates some of the forms of worship which are not in accord with the spirit of reason and the demands of conscience in the hope that in the general atmosphere of Hinduism, these forms of worship and practices will fade away.³ This has not, however, happened to the extent expected. A more vigorous spiritual life is demanded today.

BUDDHISM

Buddhism is well known for its great respect for other faiths. Aśoka adopted Buddhism in the tenth year of his reign (c. 260 B.C.) and for the rest of his life he was a follower of the Buddha. Though it was his personal faith, he did not strive to convert his people to it.

1. *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* II. 10.11

2. Clifford Manshardt : *The Mahatma and the Missionary* (1949), p. 131

3. Gilbert Murray finds it depressing to study 'these obscure congregations drawn from the proletariat of the Levant, superstitious, charlatan-driven and helplessly ignorant, who still believed in gods begetting children of mortal mothers, who took the 'Word', the 'Spirit' and the 'Divine Wisdom' to be persons called those names and turned the immortality of the soul into the standing up of the corpses, and to reflect that it was these who held the main road of advance towards the greatest religion of the Western world.'

In Rock Edict XII, Aśoka proclaims that 'the faiths of others all deserve to be honoured. By honouring them one exalts one's own faith and at the same time performs a service to the faith of others. By acting otherwise, one injures one's own faith and also does disservice to that of others. For if a man extols his own faith and disparages another because of devotion to his own and because he wants to glorify it, he seriously injures his own faith. Therefore, concord alone is commendable, *samavāya eva sādhuḥ*, for through concord men may learn and respect the conception of Dharma accepted by others. King Priyadarśi desires men of all faiths to know each other's doctrines and to acquire sound doctrines. Those who are attached to their particular faiths should be told that King Priyadarśi does not value gifts or honours as much as growth in the qualities essential to religion in men of all faiths.'¹ He was intent on the growth of true religion, *sāra-vṛddhi*.

In Hindu and Buddhist thought there is orthodoxy but this is not their essence. It is the intensity and quality of the religious quest that constitutes the essence of religion and not the object.

JUDAISM

Though the general tendency in the three religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam which have common historical roots is one of exclusiveness and intolerance, there are indications of an opposite character in all these religions. The simplicities of religions were emphasized by the prophets of Israel. Amos declared that Yahveh cared nothing for ceremonial worship but only for justice and righteousness. Hosea stressed not merely His righteousness but His love. Micah sums up the whole thing : 'He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God?' Isaiah made Yahveh the one God of all mankind. Though the Israelites remained His chosen people, they were chosen to make Him known to the rest of mankind. Malachi says : 'From

1. *The Edicts of Asoka*, E.T. by Nikam and McKeon (1958), pp.51-52

the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, My Name shall be great among the Gentiles ; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my Name and a pure offering.'¹ 'Have we not all one Father? hath not one God created us? Why then are we faithless to one another?'² The belief in one Divine Reality should awaken in the minds of all believers the sense of belonging to one fellowship and the obligation to act towards one another fraternally. Malachi repudiates religious provincialism and exclusiveness.

CHRISTIANITY

Christianity has been greatly influenced by the mystery religions of Greece. What is experienced is expressed in various symbolical forms. The well-known hymn of Cleanthes reads :

O God, most glorious, called by many a name,
Nature's Great King, through endless years the same;
Omnipotence, who by Thy just decree
Controllest all, hail, Zeus, for unto thee
Behoves Thy creatures in all lands to call.

Plutarch tells us, 'There is one Sun and one Sky over all nations and one God under many names.'

Early Christianity had an esoteric character something akin to the mysteries of Eleusis. Origen speaks of secret doctrines that can only be taught to the initiated. Clement adopts the same view and Dionysius the Areopagite mentions a secret and oral tradition. St. Paul knew Jesus only by hearsay but while on his way to Damascus on a mission of persecution he had a blinding vision of the Risen Christ who called to him from the heavens. This experience was a turning point in his career. The Lord he saw was a Saviour-God comparable to the gods of the Mystery religions, one who had died and been resurrected and through whom man could achieve immortality. While Jesus proclaimed a Kingdom of God that men could earn simply by repentance and righteous behaviour, Paul taught that salvation was through Christ and Christ alone. St. Paul decided to break away from the ritual observances of Judaism and

1. I. 11.

2. *Malachi*. II.10

to create a new world religion. He adopted the ideals of the Jewish prophets, added to them the teachings of neo-Platonism and made Jesus the central figure.

Early Christianity was intimately connected with Hellenistic-Oriental environment and early Christian thought was permeated by Hellenistic thought and expressed itself in Hellenistic forms. One of the grievances of Protestantism against Roman Catholic Christianity is that it has absorbed many pagan elements.¹ For example, the exact date of Jesus's birth is not known. Against the opposition of the East where Jesus lived, the Western churches selected the twenty-fifth of December because of the pagan tradition. It was a festival day that marked the winter solstice according to some and was therefore treated as holy to the Sun-god, especially to Mithra who was the chief rival to Christ as the Saviour-God.

Jesus gave us a simple code. He did not baptize or prescribe baptism as essential. His institution of the Eucharist as described in the Gospels was a simple memorial devoid of any magical significance. The Church made the sacraments necessary for salvation as did the mystery cults. The Church was greatly embarrassed when it found the rite of communion in Mithraism and imagined that the Devil did so to mislead simple Christians. A great deal of formalism got into the Christian faith which Jesus condemned in the High Priests and the Scribes. 'In vain do they worship me teaching for

1. 'The religion of the Great Mother, with its curious blend of crude savagery with spiritual aspirations, was only one of a multitude of similar Oriental faiths which in the later days of paganism spread over the Roman Empire, and by saturating the European peoples with alien ideals of life gradually undermined the whole fabric of ancient civilization. . . The saint and the recluse, disdainful of earth and rapt in ecstatic contemplation of heaven, became in popular opinion the highest ideal of humanity, displacing the old ideal of the patriot and hero who, forgetful of self, lives and is ready to die for the good of his country. . . . This obsession lasted for a thousand years. The revival of Roman Law, of the Aristotelian philosophy, of ancient art and literature at the close of the Middle Ages marked the return of Europe to native ideals of life and conduct, to saner, manlier views of the world. The long halt in the march of civilization was over. The tide of Oriental invasion had turned at last. It is ebbing still.'

J.G. Frazer : *The Golden Bough : Adonis, Attis, Osiris : Studies in the History of Oriental Religions* (1907), pp. 251-3

Gibbon summed up 'the history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire' as 'the triumph of barbarism and religion'.

doctrines the commandments of men.' A good deal of doctrinal developments obscured the divine simplicity of Jesus's personality.

The Gnostics denied the human nature of Christ as an inconceivable degradation of deity. His human body must have been mere appearance since God could not really suffer. This doctrine was condemned since it violated the whole Gospel story and the Resurrection. Arius was a simple man who took the common-sense view that Christ with his human body was less than God, a view supported by the Gospels. 'I came down from heaven, not to do my own will but the will of Him that sent me.' 'He that sent me is greater than I'. Athanasius felt that the Pauline doctrine of the Redeemer was inconsistent with Arianism. Jesus had to be both true man and true God, man to atone for mankind, God to redeem mankind. Christianity had to retain the deity of Christ and the unity of God. If Christ were not God, salvation through him is not possible ; if unity is lost, it would become polytheism. At the Council of Nicæa the Creed was adopted that Christ 'was begotten, not made, being of one essence with the Father'. The triumph over Arianism led to further controversies. If Christ was both human and divine, did he have one nature or two separate natures ? Some stressed the divine nature and were revolted by the idea that Christ was born of a woman and experienced the embarrassments of the flesh. 'The faith of the Catholics,' wrote Gibbon, 'trembled on the edge of a precipice where it was impossible to recede, dangerous to stand, dreadful to fall ; and the manifold inconveniences of their creed were aggravated by the sublime character of their theology.' In this consciousness of awful peril, the monophysites insisted on the one incarnate nature of Christ. 'May those who divide Christ be divided with the sword, may they be hewn in pieces, may they be burned alive,' said one Christian Synod at Ephesus. The Council of Chalcedon settled on the formula that is accepted by both Protestantism and Catholicism. 'Two natures without confusion, without change, without division, without separation'. When the Holy Ghost was added to these two we got the Trinity. The transcendent nature of God beyond human comprehension and human standards of goodness has not only revealed

himself but appeared on earth in human form. He was himself the Word.

We are not today worried about the heresies that once shook Christendom. The basic claim of Christianity is that God incarnated himself in Jesus alone at a certain time and place and that redemption from conflict of both man and nature was made possible by his death. In him a wholly new order of being was manifested with a perfect harmony of body, mind and spirit. From this belief it would follow that there was no hope for salvation freely given to everyone who was not fortunate enough to accept this belief, to those outside the Christian Church, the prophets of Israel, the philosophers of Greece. This position was not adopted by many notable Christian thinkers.

Justin Martyr (2nd Century A.D.) states : ' All those who have lived with the Logos, i.e., with the eternal divine world-reason are Christians, even if they have been taken as atheists, as Socrates and Heracleitus. Origen admonished his fellow-Christians to respect non-Christian forms of worship.' In Tertullian's phrase, the pagan soul is *naturaliter christiana*. St. Augustine's famous statement that Christian religion existed from the beginning of the world and that it came to be called Christianity only after Christ came into the flesh, is well known. Nicholas of Cusa regarded all religions as different expressions of the Word of God. ' It is you, O God, who is being sought in the various religions, in various ways, and named with various names, for Thou remainest as Thou art, to all incomprehensible and inexpressible. Be gracious and show Thy countenance. When Thou wilt graciously do so then the sword, jealous hatred, and all evil will cease and all will come to know that there is but one religion in the variety of religious rites.'¹ The Swiss Reformer Zwingli believed that all great heathens are found in heaven. Schleiermacher says : ' I find the multiplicity of religions to be grounded in the nature of religion. . . This multiplicity is necessary for the complete manifestation of religion.' ' As nothing is more irreligious than to demand general uniformity in mankind, so nothing is more un-Christian than to seek uniformity in

1. *uno religio in rituum varietate*

religion.' Schleiermacher glorified the unity of all religions in his *Reden*. He says, 'The deeper you progress in religion, the more the whole religious world appears as an indivisible whole'. Max Müller writes : ' There is only one eternal and universal religion, standing above, beneath and beyond all religions to which they all belong or can belong.'

Professor Vladimir Lossky in his *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* emphasizes that for the orthodox Christian every statement that can be made about God is inadequate and tends to become an idol. The mystery of God cannot be expressed in concepts of reason. It is an experimental knowledge of the living God. Lossky observes : ' There is no theology apart from experience ; it is necessary to change, to become a new man. .The knowledge of God is necessarily the way of deification.'

For the Orthodox Church, as for the early Greek Fathers, all theology is eventually apophatic or negative. It refuses to form concepts about God. It is, Lossky says, ' an attitude which excludes all abstract and purely intellectual theology, which would adapt the mysteries . . of God to human ways of thought. It is an existential attitude involving the whole man'. In experience we transcend all concepts. In Western Christendom, however, theology became a matter of concepts. It is called the Queen of the Sciences. The criticism of religion in recent times is more a criticism of the false images of God set up by scholastic thinkers.

Unfortunately, the predominant tendency of current Protestantism denies any revelation of God outside the Christian faith and the non-Christian religions are looked upon as vain attempts at self-glorification. Christ is not the crown or fulfilment of other religions but is something totally different and discontinuous, the unique initiative of God in His merciful dealings with fallen man, which are under the judgment of God. The truth is contained in the Holy Scripture which contains divine revelation and if others do not accept it, it is due to their blindness and ignorance. God punished not only the worship of other gods but erroneous views about His own unnamable nature.

The different claimants to absolute truth are impatient of one

another and when in power use the torture-chamber, the stake and the executioner. They expect us to be conformists rather than seekers, believers rather than thinkers.¹

Mr Herbert J. Muller writes: 'The Synoptic Gospels make clear that Jesus did not conceive himself as the revolutionary author of a new world religion, and in a real sense was not the founder of Christianity. According to these Gospels, he made no plain, open claim to divinity. They suggest that he came to regard himself as the Messiah, though he never boasted of the Davidic ancestry that Luke and Matthew are at pains to give him, but even if he had publicly adopted this role, instead of requesting his disciples to keep it a secret, his listeners would not have assumed his divinity — the Messiah of tradition was not the Son of God. In any case he did not offer salvation through a redeeming Lord. He taught rather that through repentance and righteousness any man could earn the Kingdom of Heaven by his own efforts. Then the Church went on to Make him the equal of God and to insist that salvation was possible only through Christ. The central doctrine of Christianity became the doctrine of the Incarnation which was apparently unknown to Jesus and his first followers.'² When it is said that 'outside the Church there can be no salvation' what is meant is 'outside the *spirit* of the Church'. All men of good faith may hope for salvation.

ISLAM

Islam, with its severe monotheism and emphasis on the transcendent majesty of God, gathered within itself not only some of the central beliefs of Judaism and Christianity, but also some aspects of

1. Hugh L'A. Fausset writes: 'There is no reason to believe that the particular incarnation which occurred at Bethlehem nearly two thousand years ago, momentous as its consequences have been, was final. Indeed history suggests the reverse. For there has been little sign in that part of the world which has professed to be Christian that man has been nearer redemption than in pre-Christian ages. When we remember, for example, the ferocities of the Thirty Years' War, the fiendish massacres of the Albigensian Crusade, or the burnings of heretics, all of which occurred when the Church, Mother or not of the faithful, was most powerful, it is hard to regard the doctrinal exclusiveness of the Christian claim as having been justified by events.' *Towards Fidelity* (1952), p. 86

2. *The Uses of the Past* (1954), p. 149

the early tribal religions of the Arabian desert and Zoroastrianism. It is much more than its component parts. Islam views itself as the fulfilment of Judaism and Christianity. Muhammad refers to the revelation of 'Jesus, the son of Mary'. Though Islam may have started as a Christian heresy, it has developed a uniqueness of its own even as Buddhism which was originally a reform movement of Hinduism has developed a system and structure of its own.

The Quran is the work written or dictated by Muhammad. For Muslims it is the manifestation in time of the Eternal Word of God through the dual agency of the Angel Gabriel and the Prophet Muhammad. The Muslims look on Muhammad as the last of God's messengers after whom there would be no prophecy so that nothing remained except to comment and interpret his words.

From the beginning, there has been a universalist and non-exclusive emphasis in Islam. Abu Hanifa (died 767) says: 'Difference of opinion in a community is a token of divine mercy.'¹ In the 13th century Ibn-al-Arabi taught that man should in the pursuit of the knowledge of God not seek him through an exclusive approach by any one religion, disregarding other faiths but consider all evidence accessible to man. The story of the elephant is used by Muslim theologians as by the Hindu, Buddhist and Jain thinkers.²

Farid Din Al-Attar (died 1230) wrote: 'Each finds a way of his own...each one is enlightened according to his own capacity and finds his own place in the knowledge of truth'.³ Every one's life is a road to himself. Akbar's attempt to reconcile the different religions with which he was familiar is well known. Dara Shikoh, eldest son of Emperor Shah Jahan, composed a work called *Samudra-saṅgama*, (the Confluence of Oceans)⁴ which is the same as the Persian work

1. *Flgh Akbar* I. 69

2. In Browne's E.T. it reads :

Blind delegates by blind electorate
Were therefore chosen to investigate
The beast, and each, by feeling trunk and limb
Strove to acquire an image clear of him.
Thus each conceived a visionary whole
And to the phantom clung with heart and soul.

3. *Tadhkirat al-Awliya*

4. See *A Critical Study of Dara Shikoh's Samudra-saṅgama* by Dr. Roma Chaudhuri (1954)

Majma-ul-Bahrain (The Mingling of Oceans). The book is intended to illustrate the agreement in fundamentals between Hinduism and Islam. Aurangzeb got back to the exclusive view.¹ Tipu Sultan on many occasions requested the Śringeri Śaṁkarācārya to offer prayers to God. Once he expressed great pleasure at the *sahasracandī japa* performed under the guidance of the Śaṁkarācārya for the welfare of his kingdom.² Throughout the history of Islam, respect for other faiths has been a persistent tendency. The Sufis advocate this view.

A Church or a Temple or a Kaaba stone,
Koran or Bible or a Martyr's Soul,
All these and more my heart can tolerate,
Since my religion now is love alone.

III

THE NEED FOR CO-OPERATION AMONG RELIGIONS

The source of conflicts is not the diversity of religions but the lack of toleration. Toleration does not mean indifference born of secret pride or contempt for others. It follows from the conviction that the Absolute Reality is a mystery of which no more than a fraction has ever yet been penetrated. Toleration is open-mindedness.

1. Cp. the lines :

In whom Islam attained a loftier fame
And wider honour graced the Prophet's Law,
He the last arrow to our quiver left
In the affray of Faith with Unbelief ;
When that the impious seed of heresy,
By Akbar nourished, sprang and sprouted fresh
In Dara's soul, the candle of the heart
Was dimmed in every breast, no more secure
Against corruption our Community
Continued ; then God chose from India
That humble-minded warrior, Alamgir,
Religion to revive, faith to renew.
The lightning of his sword set all ablaze
The harvest of impiety ; faith's torch
Once more its radiance o'er our counsels shed.

Revelation and Reason in Islam by A.J. Arberry, p. 114

2. See *Mysore Archaeological Department Annual Report*, 1916, pp. 74-5

We may follow different roads but our goal is the same. As we are engaged in the same quest we must treat one another as spiritual brethren. Different religions should be treated as variations on a common theme. What does not serve me may serve some one else. In the matter of religious beliefs and practices, tolerance should be our sacred duty. If we practise it, the forces of rigidity and fanaticism will wear away and yield to something more worthy. If we conceive of one true God as a jealous one, worship of other gods becomes erroneous. In the East, in China and India, the gods are not jealous and there are no national religions. The seeker of religious truth may be a doubter, a wanderer. What expands the powers of man is not the possession of truth but the search for truth. The most quoted utterance of Lessing is that the value of a person is determined not by his being in possession of truth but by his honest effort to strive after truth. 'If God held in His right hand all truth and in His left the precious ever-active urge for truth, although with the qualification that I would ever and always err and said to me "choose", I would humbly grasp His left hand and say: "Father, give; pure truth is only for you".'

The Hindu *Gāyatrī* prayer is a perpetual quest for illumination. The scientist knows that truth is always provisional and hypothetical and what matters is the search. The followers of different religions should regard themselves as fellow-seekers of truth. When we feel that we possess the truth, we get hardened towards those who do not have it. The conviction that one's own faith gives a deeper insight into the mystery of the universe should not engender hostility to those who cherish other beliefs. Gandhiji wrote to an American missionary who claimed that the Christian way was the best for all: 'You assume knowledge of all people which you can do only if you were God. I want you to understand that you are labouring under a double fallacy: that what you think best for you is really so; and that what you regard as the best for you is the best for the whole world. It is an assumption of omniscience and infallibility. I plead for a little humility.' Professor A. N. Whitehead observes: 'What I am objecting to is the absurd trust in the adequacy of our knowledge. The self-confidence of learned people is the cosmic

tragedy of civilization'.¹ 'Wherever there is a creed,' he says, 'there is a heretic round the corner or in his grave.'²

The attitude of exclusive possession of truth is not consistent with the catholicity of the great religions at their highest. Besides, every great religion has learnt from others. If religion is to gain the dynamic power which it once possessed of shaping society, rivalries of religions should give place to co-operation among them. The world can no longer afford to be divided on this vital matter. God is active everywhere in Christianity, as in other religions. If we believe that God has revealed truth not to all mankind but to a chosen few, Hindus, Buddhists, Jews, Christians or Muslims, strife and hostility start. The history of Christianity from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century illustrates the tragic effects of a unique, intolerant and exclusive truth. If we worship not the God of love but the God of jealousy which worked such havoc in the past, then there will be no peace in the world. It is this view of religion that has been a stumbling-block to sensitive souls, and has led to the abandonment of religion by them.³ I am persuaded that this intolerant view of Christianity which led to the Inquisition and the Wars of Religion is not fair to the teaching of Jesus that God is love. We read in the New Testament that 'God is love' (1 John IV. 16), that his Word is the light which lighteth every man (John 1.9), that he left not himself without witness (Acts XIV. 17), that he willeth that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth (I. Timothy II. 4). Mankind is tired of scholastic discussions and dogmatic controversies. Christianity in the West has produced a series of mutually exclusive Churches, each asserting a particular validity about which controversy was silenced by secession. But from the time of St. Paul's letter to the Church in Corinth, attempts

1. *The Philosophy of A.N. Whitehead*, ed. by Schilpp (1941), p. 698

2. *Adventures of Ideas* (1933), p. 66

3. Professor Friedrich Heiler writes : 'It is only too true that Christianity has been disgraced by inexpressible crimes that are not found in the same form and degree in any of the other great religions. Neither Islam nor Buddhism nor Hinduism has slaughtered anything like as many human beings for their beliefs as have the Christian Churches . . . With the stain of this disgrace upon it how can Christianity claim to be absolute, compared with the incomparably less tainted non-Christian religions?' *Hibbert Journal*, January 1954, pp. 112-113

to end the divisions have been made periodically. Today this attempt at union should be undertaken on a wider basis. The realm of the spirit is the sphere of freedom. It does not favour or penalize the acceptance of any religion by its members. It fosters a new kind of creative sympathy between the adherents of the different faiths. It is our duty to work together without sacrificing whatever is valuable in our traditions and achieve that deepening power that comes from fellowship. Only such a view can be the basis of a civilized society where we strive with passion to understand other religions and serve their followers. The last hymn of the R̥g Veda has the following words:

Walk together; speak in concord; Let your minds comprehend alike, let your efforts be united; let your hearts be in agreement, let your minds be united, that we all may be happy.

saṁ gacchadhvaṁ saṁ vadadhvaṁ, saṁ vo manāṁsi jānatām.

samānī va ākūtiḥ, samānā hṛdayāni vaḥ

samānam astu vo manaḥ

yathā vaḥ susahāsati—x. 191

SCIENCE AND RELIGION

I

MAY I join His Highness the Chancellor and Professor Kabir in extending a hearty welcome to the foreign delegates who have taken the trouble to attend this Conference. This conference is another indication of the increasing interdependence of nations and individuals. Human beings are everywhere the same and they hold the same deepest values. The differences among them which are, no doubt, significant are related to external, temporary social conditions and are alterable with them. Modern methods of transport and communication are breaking down barriers and building bridges of co-operation. All societies are fast becoming industrialized

Address to the International Institute of Philosophy and the Indian Philosophical Congress, Mysore, 29 August, 1959

and we are all speaking the same language in science. New sets of values are springing up everywhere. We are called upon to participate in the painful birth of a new world civilization which is possible only with international co-operation and understanding. In spite of the sharpness of international conflicts, the world is getting to be one.

Recent developments have given rise to the erroneous impression that while the West is scientific in outlook, the East is spiritually minded. The one is rational while the other is religious. The one is dynamic and perpetually changing while the other is static and unchanging. If we take a long view we will find that China and India made fundamental contributions to science and technology till three or four hundred years ago and that there have been illustrious examples of religious idealism and sanctity in the West. The more we understand each other the more we feel that we are like one another. East and West do not represent two different types of consciousness or modes of thought.

Science and religion are aspects of every culture. The rational and the spiritual are two strands inextricably woven in human nature, though in varied patterns. One or the other may be more prominent in different periods of human history.

II

In the last fifty years there has been a revolt against traditional metaphysics. From Thales to Whitehead in the West, from the seers of the R̥g Veda down to our own time in India, philosophy has been speculative. In the contemporary world, logical positivism and existentialism represent the revolt against metaphysics.

The so-called revolution in philosophy is not altogether new. We have had the positivist tendency in Greek thought and British empiricism.

It is argued that nothing can be true or even meaningful unless it can be understood in terms of sense experience. In ancient Greek thought Protagoras held it and Plato criticized it. In modern European thought Hume holds that there can be no true or meaningful

assertions about God, soul and immortality or objective moral standards. Hume discards beliefs about these as 'sophistry and illusion'. Kant rejected this view.

Comte inaugurated the idea of positivism with his law of three stages of cultural development: the first stage of every culture is theological, theology being for Comte another name for superstition; the second stage of metaphysics substitutes principles and forces for the ancient gods; the third stage is positivism which deals with scientific knowledge.

To Hume's doctrine of experience, we have added the technique of linguistic analysis. The meaningfulness of statements about God, soul and immortality are due to linguistic confusion. Religious beliefs are treated as 'nonsense' by which we allow ourselves to be deluded. All forms of metaphysics are discarded as unprofitable enterprises.

Logical positivism adopts the verification principle. Any sentence can have factual meaning only if it is capable of verification in sense experience. Religious propositions are not capable of empirical verification and so do not possess any factual meaning.

Universally accepted scientific principles are not capable of verification by sense experience. We do not deny laws of nature on that account. The principle of verification is not a self-evident statement; nor is it capable of verification by sense-experience.

Even those who claim to eliminate metaphysics by asserting that there is no transcendental reality are making metaphysical statements about the nature of the universe. Even though we may repudiate metaphysical systems from Plato's idealism to Marx's materialism, metaphysical thinking seems to be inescapable. Whenever thought grows conscious of itself there is philosophy. Even he who denies philosophy does so as the result of a philosophy which is not aware of being one. Whenever standards of value are used and criticism is applied there is philosophy. The logic of the analytical philosophers is itself based on metaphysics, certain presuppositions about the universe. Whatever value logical analysis has can be defined only in terms of an attitude to life which logical analysis by itself cannot establish.

When the logical positivists proclaim that experience is the indispensable source of data for philosophical investigation they limit the word 'experience' to sense experience but we have moral, aesthetic and religious experience also. Our intense experiences, passion for knowledge, love of beauty, moral despair, the sense of the numinous cannot be excluded from the world of empiricism.

The dissociation of intellect from the other sides of human life is the prominent feature of logical positivism. When we speak of sciences we should include under it not only mathematics, physics and the biological sciences but also the social sciences and those which deal with spiritual values.

Professor C.D. Broad of Cambridge says in the Preface to his *Five Types of Ethical Theory*:

'It is perhaps fair to warn the reader that my range of experience, both practical and emotional, is rather exceptionally narrow even for a don. Fellows of colleges, in Cambridge at any rate, have few temptations to heroic virtue or spectacular vice; and I could wish that the rest of mankind were as fortunately situated. Moreover, I find it difficult to excite myself very much over right and wrong in practice. I have, e.g., no clear idea of what people have in mind when they say that they labour under a sense of sin; yet I do not doubt that, in some cases, this is a genuine experience, which seems vitally important to those who have it, and may really be of profound ethical and metaphysical significance. I realize that these practical and emotional limitations may make me blind to certain important aspects of moral experience. Still, people who feel very strongly about any subject are liable to over-estimate its importance in the scheme of things. A healthy appetite for righteousness, kept in due control by good manners, is an excellent thing, but to 'hunger and thirst after' is often merely a symptom of spiritual diabetes.'

Any serious attempt at philosophical interpretation will have to consider these data. Again, the concepts which modern mathematics and physics use are not directly verifiable in sense experience. They lead to deductions which can be related eventually to experimental situations. Metaphysical theories are interpretations of the nature of the world and are tested by their adequacy to the observed data, by their capacity to co-ordinate positive knowledge. They are not mere speculations but interpretations of experience. In the case of scientific theories, what we can verify is their consequences insofar as these can be calculated and observed. We do not observe electrical energy, gravitation or relativity but we calculate what

will be observed, in carefully determined circumstances, if these are true, and then verify whether they are actually observed or not. This is indirect verification. Metaphysical theories are capable of such indirect verification.

There are metaphysicians who claim that they are also empiricists insofar as they deal with being *qua* being. They all start with the basic datum that something exists.

All the same, positivism helps to release the nature and purpose of religion from magic, superstition and folk-lore with which religion has got confused.

III

Every great philosopher is both an analyst and an existentialist. He is a poet with an intellectual conscience. Analysis without vision is expense of spirit, waste of subtlety. Undisciplined vision, unexamined intuition, sheer passion are the sources of superstition, fanaticism, madness.

The analytic and the existential tendencies are found in Socrates and Plato. We find them again in the Middle Ages, in the philosophy of the Schools.

There is always a tension between logical analysis and existential experience. Any adequate philosophy should be sustained by the integrity of reason and the claims of inward experience.

I may take two illustrations from Western thought: Plato and Kant. Plato's theory of forms is based on logical argument. When he hypostasizes the forms and affirms that absolute beauty and absolute justice are not mere concepts but have their existence in another world, when he subordinates the world of sense to that other world, he is under the influence of the Orphic and the Pythagorean views. What is given does not transcend nature but the aspiration it awakens does.

Plato had a deep sense of alienation and a vision of another world. Death is not the end. There is another world, where the soul has its being, before birth and after death. It is not logic or epistemology that leads to this view but reflection on man and his conduct.

In the *Theaetetus*,¹ Socrates exhorts man to 'become like a god as far as he is able to.' We feel a sense of lack, a privation. We have to grow beyond our present status. Man, as he is, is incomplete.

Kant confined knowledge and science to the world of phenomena. But reflection on the nature of the world led him to the conclusion that it did not constitute the whole of reality and there were supersensible entities, things in themselves. There were ideas of reason, of the soul, of the world in its entirety and of God. The realities corresponding to these ideas could not be construed as objects. They have not a constitutive but only a regulative use. They enable us to organize our experience and estimate its worth. The pursuit of science rests on a faith, a hope and a trust, the faith of reason in its own supremacy or in the rationality of the world.

The examination of our nature as moral agents enables Kant to give a richer and deeper meaning to ideas. The fact of duty is a positive illustration of the kind of reality to which the ideas of reason point, a reality, which although having a definite content is in no sense an object in the context of experience. For Kant the contemplation of the starry heavens above us should be accompanied by the recognition of the moral law within us.

IV

In Indian thought we have both existentialist distress and rational reflection. The main concern of Indian thought is with the status of man, his ultimate goal. Nature and God are treated as aids to help man to attain security of being, peace of mind. The main interest of Indian thought is practical. Philosophy is a guide to life.

In Indian philosophical circles, a ferment is caused by the impact of Western thought on the traditional doctrines. Generally speaking, it has not resulted in any major changes of outlook though the methods of approach have been affected. There are a few who have abandoned the Indian tradition and adopted the ideas of some Western thinkers but unfortunately they have not made any deep impression either on Indian thought or on Western philosophy,

The most effective development is in the presentation of India's fundamental thought in the idiom of our age and its development in new directions. One may indicate the Indian approach to the problem of religion by a reference to the first two aphorisms of the *Brahma Sūtra* which is said to give the main purport of the Upaniṣads which are a part of the Vedas. The two *sūtras* deal with the need for the knowledge of Ultimate Reality, and a rational approach to it.

v

Even as we admit a mystery behind the cosmic process, we recognize a mystery behind the flux of mental states. Metaphysical thinking which bases itself on experience holds that nature is grasped with the concept of necessity and the nature of self by that of freedom. The Real behind the cosmic process, *brahman* and the Real behind the individual ego, *ātman*, are the same.

Man's body is a perishable speck in the material universe; his mind is itself an instrument. The upward surge of nature cannot have body as its final product. There is something beyond, something that mankind shall be. The Eternal is in him but wrapped up in his constricted personality. Man's greatness is not in what he is but in what he can be. He has to grow consciously into it. His aspiration to participate in the divine creativity, his consecrated will to do so is the instrument of the evolutionary urge. We may call it the grace of the divine or the power of the human, *deva-prasāda* or *tapoḥ-prabhāva*. Each individual has a specific role in the creative process.

There is no conflict between science and religion. Nothing that science can say can affect the religious view of the importance of human personality. The universe may contain other planets in which rational creatures may exist.

Religion should not maintain what is evidently in contradiction with ascertainable scientific fact. Science does not presume to deduce a moral code from its observation of natural phenomena.

The important question is whether human beings are to be regarded as the apex of a process of natural evolution not

purposefully directed or are they to be regarded as made in the image of God', the children of God. The scientific humanists believe in the power of rational, though accidentally produced, creatures to dominate the process of which they are the final result so far. But they exaggerate the extent to which human beings are free from sub-rational desires and the extent to which they can subordinate their behaviour to a plan of rational and universal benevolence. Religion holds that man exists on the level of supernature as well as nature. Kant refers to man's twofold nature. As belonging to the phenomenal or the sensible world, he is determined, as belonging to the noumenal or the supra-sensible world he is free. 'Greater is he that is in you than he that is in the world.'¹ Man is free to disobey the law of duty.

THE ANUVRAT MOVEMENT

IT IS an honour for me to be here today and to inaugurate this function and present the *Abhinandangranth* to Ācārya Shri Tulsi. He has been the head of this order of Terapanths for twenty-five years. It has a large number of monks and lakhs of laymen. The great respect which they all have for Ācārya Tulsiji is a sign of his outstanding personality and it is only proper that this *abhinandangranth* should be presented to him as a token of the affection of his many admirers and friends. Usually such honours are given to political leaders, industrial magnates. In our country spiritual leaders also sometimes get these honours.

Ācārya Shri Tulsi's impact on the Indian community is due to the *anuvrat* movement which he has started. There is a general feeling in the country that while we are attending to the material progress and doing substantial work in that direction, we are neglecting the human side of true progress. A civilized human being must be free

Speech at the presentation of *Abhinandangranth* to Acharya Shri Tulsi, Bikaner, 1 March, 1962

1. John, IV. 4

from greed, vanity, passion, anger. Civilizations decline if there is a coarsening of moral fibre, if there is callousness of heart. Man is tending to becoming a robot, a mechanical instrument caring for nothing except his material welfare, incapable of exercising his intelligence and responsibility. He seems to prefer comfort to liberty, welfare to freedom. We find our boys and girls, and even our politicians, resorting to direct action to enforce their particular viewpoint or to fulfil their desires. This is unfortunate and to remedy this growing indiscipline, lack of rectitude, egotism, the *anuvrat* movement was started on March 1, 1949. It requires strict adherence to the principles of the good life. It is intended to impart education in moral and spiritual values.

We cannot say that as a result of this movement things have improved very considerably. Public spirit, commercial integrity, individual rectitude, family life, peaceful behaviour, these require to be cultivated. These cannot be achieved by merely talking about them. The only way in which this can be brought about is by imparting to our young people the essentials of our culture. These may be summarized in the three great words—*abhaya*, *ahimsā*, *asaṅga*—which are the common possessions of all systems of religious thought.

Abhaya—The world in which we live is full of suffering: *lokam śoka hatam ca samastam*—disease, old age, death—the Upaniṣad raises this question and asks whether there is a way out of it and believes that there is. The Buddha speaks in a similar way; so does Christianity. The Gītā affirms—*anityam asukham lokam*—and argues that we can get rid of these troubles by the worship of the Divine. Thus we get the Ultimate Reality. *Brahma-jijñāsā* is the love of wisdom. The only way of getting rid of fear is by the conviction that there is something which redeems us from this world of time; something timeless. The Upaniṣads say: *ānandam brahmaṇo vidvān na bibhēti kadācana*. The writer of the Gītā says: *mā śucaḥ*—be not afraid. The Buddha says that if we follow the ethical path, there will be an end to suffering.

Simply because we are afraid, it does not follow that there is something which removes our fear. Simply because we are hungry,

it does not follow that there is food which will appease our hunger. The assumption of a Transcendent Reality may merely be a wish-fulfilment. So it is argued that we should take an empirical survey of the world and by means of reason establish the Reality of something timeless and transcendent. *Brahman* is the world-ground.

A mere wish or a logical conclusion is not enough. We must have an encounter, a personal experience of the Supreme. Faith is not belief, but a state of the soul. All the systems believe in this. The *Bodhi* of the Buddha, the *Kevala jñāna*, the *saṁyogdarśana* of the Jain, the integrated insight, the *Brahmasaṁsparśa* of the Gītā, Truth which casts out fear of the Christians, these all depend on personal realization.

The peculiarity of Indian systems of thought is that this insight into Reality means the discovery of the Divine in us. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* says that truth by which this whole world is sustained is in the human being—*etad ātmyam idam sarvaṁ tat satyaṁ sa ātmā tat tvam asi*. Again, *eṣa devo viśvakarmā mahātmā sadā janānāṁ hṛdaye sanniviṣṭaḥ-deho devālayo nāma*. The Buddha's meditations are an endeavour to know the highest. The Jains believe that behind the body of *karma*, there is in each soul infinite knowledge, infinite power, infinite happiness. The *jīva* is by its very nature pure. Ultimate Knowledge is its inherent possession. It is overlaid by ignorance created by the *kārmic* body. When dwelling within the bonds of *karma*, the *jīva* experiences only finite knowledge, but as the impediments to greater knowledge are removed, infinite knowledge is manifested and the true nature of the soul is revealed. The impediments are desires and passions.

The perfected soul is *siddha parameṣṭhin*. It is a state of unconditioned being, passionless peace, dissociated from desire and action. The *arhat* has not reached ultimate liberation but works in the world with compassion for it. Then we have ordinary human teachers.

From this follows a kind of hospitality to all religious creeds.

ajo'pi sann avyayātmā bhūtānāṁ iśvaro'pi san

*prakṛtiṁ svām adhiṣṭhāya sambhavāmy ātmamāyayā*¹

Though (I am) unborn, my self is imperishable, though I am the

1. *The Bhagavadgītā*, IV.6., cf. also IV. 11

Lord of all creation, yet establishing myself in my own nature, I come into (empiric) being through my power. *Syādvāda* affirms that the absolute of experience is not the absolute of language or of logic. We should not quarrel about the names we give to the Supreme or the ways by which we greet Him. On the wings of aspiration, man rises from earth to heaven, from ignorance to knowledge, from darkness to light. Without this aspiration man remains purely animal, earthly, sensual, unenlightened and uninspired.

Ahiṃsā—If we believe that each individual has the Divine in him, it follows that our attitude towards others should be one of non-injury. *Ahiṃsā* is *vaira tyāga*--renunciation of hatred. There is no question that all those who are free from fear, who have attained *abhaya* will act in the world in a spirit of love and compassion--*karuṇā*. Love is the basis of all civilized living. All our unhappiness is traceable to our insatiable selfishness. Suffering is the result of craving, of greed. Our life will be suffering and our end sorrow until we overcome our selfishness. *Marāṇa* is not extinction. It is the extinction of craving which makes life mean and pitiful. It is serenity of soul. The Buddha says: 'To those in need give without restraint'. *Tyāga* or renunciation is the way to it. Not by giving up vain clothing or outward riches, not by abstaining from certain foods but by giving up the spirit of vanity, the desire for wealth, the lust for self-indulgence, by giving up hatred, jealousy and selfishness, do we attain purity of heart. The man of passion is eager to put others right, the man of wisdom puts himself right. Self-conquest means self-liberation. *Triratna* of the Jains is faith, right knowledge and right conduct.¹ The *pancaśīla* of the Jains is *ahiṃsā*, *satya*, *asteya*, *brahmacarya*, *aparigraha* and of the Buddhists is practically the same, *ahiṃsā*, *satyavacana*, *brahmacarya*, *aparigraha* and *surā-pāna-niṣedha*.

Asaṅga--While we work in this world, we do so free from any attachment to the results of action, *yogasthaḥ kuru karmāṇi saṅgam tyaktvā dhanañjaya*.² Again, *gata saṅgasya muktasya*. *Mukta* is free from *saṅga*. We are unattached but not uninterested.

1. cf. *Faith, Instructions and Works of Roman Catholic Theology*

2. *The Bhagavadgītā*, II.48

If we are able to spread these essentials of spiritual life, freedom from fear, love and non-attachment, we will improve the character of human beings. *Anuvrat Sangha* which Ācārya Tulsiji has established, and is working for, aims at this moral improvement of the individual and, therefore, of society.

A true democracy has for its aim the making of moral personalities. Political power in a democracy is attained by appeals to people through the Press and the platform. Moral power, on the other hand, resides in a moral personality and in the latter's compelling characteristic. There is always this difference between the King and the Prophet, Rāma and Vasiṣṭha, the political and the spiritual power. The desire for power is 'the perpetual and restless desire of power that ceaseth only in death', in the words of Hobbes. Its end is enslavement and its sanction force and the manipulation of society for personal greed. Spiritual leaders speak of the soul and the health of the soul; they utter words that provoke, stimulate, awaken; they are not objects of knowledge but stimulants to thought, ungraspable but always beckoning us. These we should hold before us in all our activities.

THE WAY TO DISCIPLINE

IT is only natural that members of the Anuvrat Samiti should honour Dr Rajendra Prasad, who has been a consistent supporter of the *anuvrat* movement from the beginning. Ācārya Tulsiji started this movement to impart a sense of discipline and improve the standards of behaviour among the different sections of our public life. There are complaints of increasing indiscipline among railway travellers, unrest among the students, and intrigue, corruption and nepotism even among our public men. The *anuvrat* movement tries to get to the root of this indiscipline. Our heart is defiled in different ways—by the craving for pleasure, clinging to

Speech at meeting organized by Anuvrat Samiti to bid farewell to Dr Rajendra Prasad, 1 May, 1962

temporal possessions, love of self and the lust for power. Many of our troubles spring from these defilements of the heart. We must try, therefore, to cleanse the heart, put away sensual cravings, detach our minds from the love of possessions, abandon self-importance.

Jain scriptures emphasize that example is better than precept. *Ācāra* is more effective than *pravacana*, preaching. All things in this world, says Bhartṛhari, are full of fear: *vairāgyam eva abhayam*. Only renunciation gives us freedom from fear.

Anurāgāt virāgaḥ. By love of God we become detached from worldly temptations. Faith is the supreme cleanser.

*anyathā śaraṇam nāsti tvam eva śaraṇam mama
tasmāt kārūṇya-bhāvena rakṣa rakṣa janārdana*

I have no doubt that our President even in retirement will work for this raising of the tone of our behaviour, for true progress of man and society consists in an increasing mastery over our own defects, the defects of our nature.

TEMPLES AND FESTIVALS OF TAMILNAD

I am happy to say a few words in connection with the film on Temples and Festivals of Tamilnad prepared by Shri K. Subramaniam.

Religion is the fulfilment of life. Those who are devoid of the spirit of religion, those who have missed the comforts and consolations of religion, are incomplete human beings. We aim at completeness and try to attain it by deepening our awareness, enlarging our objects of sympathy and ridding ourselves of selfishness and greed, anger and hatred.

Of the different ways by which we can reach this goal, the easiest is devotion or *bhakti*. A famous verse reads:

*uttamā sahājāvasthā dvitīyā dhyāna dhāraṇā
tṛtīyā pratimā pūjā homa yātrā cathurthikā*

Introduction to the film 'Temples and Festivals of Tamilnad'

Temples have been the centres of the religious life of the community. Music and dance, painting and sculpture, have always been associated with them. The South Indian temple architecture, which is distinctive and impressive, spread to Indonesia, Cambodia and Indo-China.

We in India visit temples dedicated to the different manifestations of the Supreme.

śaivāyam na khalu tatra vicāranīyam pañcākṣarī japa parā nitarām tathāpi ceto madīyam atasī kusumāvabhāsaṃ smerānanam smarati gopavadhūkiśoram. The author continues that there is no fundamental distinction between Śiva and Viṣṇu.

maheśvaro yā janārdano va na vastu-bheda-pratipattir asti

Temples in India should open themselves out to a universal perspective; the restrictive measures which still prevail require to be removed.

mātāca pārvatī devī pitā devo maheśvaraḥ

bhrātaro mānavās sarve svadeso bhuvanatrayam

A great Tamil saint says : *onre kulamum oruvane devanum*, one family on earth and one God.

I hope those who see this film will get some idea of the religious life of the South.

GENERAL

REPLY TO CIVIC ADDRESS, OOTACAMUND

THE collapse of the Summit Conference has caused consternation and dismay among the peoples of the world. This is not the time for us to apportion blame for the failure. The great Powers will have to get together to allay the apprehensions of the people. Let us not utter one angry word or harsh phrase that will make a meeting of the great Powers more difficult than it is today. The appalling effects of nuclear warfare on men, women and children and on generations yet unborn are well known. The more nations acquire the power to start a nuclear war, the greater is the chance that some nation may use the power in blind anger, haste or impulse, or miscalculation by a harassed and hurried officer. If the growing distrust is not checked, if the present drift is allowed to continue, a full-scale nuclear war is not only possible but probable. The world is not here to be turned into a hell. We have not been created to destroy one another. Loss of face is not a greater calamity than the destruction of the human race. We must care for human beings, the human race, the advancement of the human spirit. We must care for these above anything else.

There are mental and emotional conflicts that keep men apart. The divisions of nations reflect those of the individual. Man is in conflict with himself. In him are generosity and meanness, courage and cowardice, altruism and selfishness, truth and evasion. They are struggling with each other. Racial superiority, national pride, lust for power are still with us. The most difficult problem is self-control. What we need is greater humility, a new attitude of mind, a recognition that humanity is greater than any nation, a determination that general and complete disarmament under effective international control shall be worked out. The peoples of the world long to be freed from the intolerable burdens of modern armaments and the fearful perils of nuclear war. In the present world, disarmament is the only practical policy for any nation. I hope great nations will listen to the voice of humanity and save it. I have faith that the earth will survive the self-destructive passions of men.

20 May, 1959

VISIT TO GANDHIGRAM

ON this day twelve years ago the late B. G. Kher inaugurated this institution. Since then it has grown to its present dimensions and is still growing as all live institutions do. This institution owes a great deal to the initiative, drive and organizing ability of Dr Shrimati Soundram Ramachandran.

Gandhiji helped women to play an equal part in the struggle for freedom and naturally they now claim and get an equal share of responsibility with men in the building of New India. The *Mahābhārata* says,

ardham bhāryā manuṣyasya.

Gandhiji's first effort in the application of non-violence was against racial discrimination in South Africa. So when he came here, his ambition was to build a social order where there would be no distinctions of class or creed, where there would be full scope for the development of both men and women. The legal measures for the removal of untouchability and improvement in the status of Harijans and equal rights for women which we have taken are a testimony to Gandhiji's dream of equality.

True freedom for Gandhiji meant the liberation of the masses. Political independence carries with it a desire for better living. For decades we have neglected the rural areas and destroyed the rural personality. Gandhiji stressed the need for reawakening in the rural areas. In a place like this where there is so much vitality and purposeful living we become aware of what needs to be done in many parts of India. We can work for the welfare of the village people by co-operation. All progress has to be achieved through co-operation and not conflict. Our villages are generally without schools and hospitals, without protected water supply, libraries and public halls. The example of Gandhigram should stimulate others to follow its leads.

In our country we have many problems to face—increasing unemployment, rising prices, inflationary tendencies, corruption and nepotism. These cannot be dismissed as the inevitable price we have to pay for progress.

Madurai, 7 October, 1959

When Gandhiji was asked to send a message for this institution he said 'success attends where truth reigns.' Our national motto is *satyameva jayate*. Gandhiji says: 'My uniform experience has convinced me that there is no other God than Truth.' Pursuit of truth is what distinguishes man from sub-human creation. For Gandhiji Truth is God. God is *satyasvarūpa, satyanārāyaṇa, satyaṁ, jñānaṁ anantaṁ brahma*. It is not mere scientific knowledge of facts but the spiritual apprehension of truth.

*śravaṇaṁ tu guroh pūrvaṁ mananam tad anantaram
nididhyāsanaṁ ity etat pūrṇaṁ bodhasya lakṣaṇam*

We get to the region of the spirit of which we have never known the name.

kṣamā hi śāstraṁ khalu brāhmaṇānām

We should not squander our wealth in feeding the fears and starving the hopes of the peoples of the world. We need a change of heart, a raising of the spirit. Mr Khrushchev pleaded in his United Nations Assembly speech for general and complete disarmament. The existence of armaments carries with it the hazard of war. The hazard has become more dreadful than ever before in human history on account of the frightful nature of the new weapons which frighten even their possessors. War in the present conditions has become unthinkable to any sane man. We are not all sane. The true threats to war lie underneath the armaments in the spirits of aggressive rivalry, fear, suspicion. These causes are in men's minds and hearts. The technical problem is simple, if the deeper problem of the spirit is solved. Our effort should be to reduce the primary causes of conflict.

Each one of us has to purify himself by effort and save others by example. Gandhiji by fasts, by prayers, by the practice of vows, developed the chastity of those consecrated to truth, which is matchless in its power. When once we attain truth, we are led to regard the meanest of creation as ourself. We cannot help participating in the work of the world. Gandhiji's devotion to truth led him into the fields of politics and social reform. Gandhiji said: 'For me morals, ethics and religion are convertible terms. *Ahimsā* is a corollary of *satya*.' In our foreign policy we strive to adopt Gandhiji's

principles. Internationalism was the goal which Gandhiji had. The world for him was one large family.

The method of non-violence which he advocated has become an urgent necessity in the present world context. The great Powers which have control over nuclear weapons realize today that they cannot impose their will upon each other by force and both these Powers are interested in avoiding war and are attempting to discover a way by which ideological differences can be overcome. Both systems of capitalism and socialism are undergoing changes. In different degrees they combine free enterprise and controlled planning. The great industrial power which the Soviet Union has built up should be used for raising the living standards of the Soviet people and others who are suffering from poverty, malnutrition, disease and unemployment. Both the groups have built up high-power industrial economies and have the same aims. What divides them is mutual fear and suspicion. Domination of one by the other is out of the question, for that will lead to suicide and not the survival of man. Co-operation is the way out and it is some satisfaction to note that the rigidities are softening. The meeting of the two great leaders in America is a symptom of the growing fear of a nuclear catastrophe and the rising hope of the world that we shall avoid nuclear annihilation and reach peace. The rulers of the world must develop a little humility and restrain the use of the power which they now control by all possible means.

Gandhiji did not consider moral principles to be irrelevant to politics. If he had had his way he would have scrapped our defence forces and relied on the justice of our cause and the moral courage of our people. But this moral strength is not our possession today, not at any rate of the large majority of our people. Nationalism is still an explosive force and the nation-state relies on military strength and is not ready to disarm. If we are not prepared for disarmament, we have to enter the race for nuclear armaments. The peoples of the world should press for an agreed disarmament and the relaxation of the present tensions.

When men behave badly we compare them to animals. Swift speaks of the 'bestial vice of drinking to excess'. We have not seen

beasts getting drunk. We may make them drunk. The horrors of slavery, oppression, persecution and war are peculiar to human beings. Animals do not use swords and guns. They do not drop atom bombs. They do not prey on each other for ideological reasons. Compared to the wars we wage, the jungle is a very pleasant kindergarten. There is no justification for us to plead animal ancestry when we massacre millions of people.

Besides, animals have no moral sense and so cannot be blamed for their worst actions. We pride ourselves on our knowledge of good and evil and so have great responsibility for our actions. Each one of us has to decide between violence which will destroy the world and non-violence which will save it.

MAHATMA GANDHI

WE have the name of Gandhiji on our lips but not in our hearts. We invoke his name in any and every connection but do not pause to ask how he would have acted in particular situations. Love of mankind and not merely his own country was the distinguishing feature of his life. In a dark world he was a living flame, embodying the ideals of truth and love. You have in him a man fighting against his environment, against his times, battered yet unbroken, defeated yet convinced of the ultimate rightness of his struggle. Gandhiji represents the humanity of the future. He was a *viśva-mānuṣa*, a world citizen. His life was a battle for the new world. For him the world was the unit, not the nation-state. Unless individual nations are prepared to think in terms of human welfare the present scientific developments would mean danger and a waste of human effort. If we wish to prevent a world war we need world co-operation. We must get ready to live in the new world that faces us. Physical unification has been effected. Intellectual concord is growing. All men can be fed, housed and clothed

Speech on the occasion of the unveiling of a statue of Mahatma Gandhi, Bikaner, 31 October, 1959

by economic co-operation. Spiritual accord should be realized.

Gandhiji secured for us freedom so that we may be able to build a non-violent social order which may be of help to the world. He worked for a warless world. The resolution about disarmament passed unanimously by the U. N. the other day showed how he led our country in the right direction.

Wars are caused by the passions in our heart, by the blind, black, uncontrollable greed in us. Each one of us has to fight the battle within himself. Kurukṣetra is within us. Each one of us has to decide between love which saves the world and hate which destroys it. We have to purify ourselves by our effort and save others by our action. Gandhiji acquired the chastity of those consecrated to truth whose power is matchless by the practice of fasts, prayers and vows. Gandhiji occupies an important place in the spiritual evolution of mankind. He speaks to us of the promised land, the goal of our endeavours. Though some of us may not enter it we have to strive for it and salute it from afar. Whenever we think of Gandhiji, let us remember that the power of the human spirit is mightier than the mightiest bomb.

REPLY TO CIVIC ADDRESS, BIKANER

I AM happy to receive the address from the Chairman and members of the Bikaner Municipal Council. Though I have never visited Bikaner previously, I have known about the city. The late Shri Ganga Singh Bahadur was the Chancellor of the University of Banaras when I was Vice-Chancellor there and I came to know him a little. His stately presence, dignified behaviour and patriotism impressed me a great deal. I have no doubt that the Municipality is doing a great deal for making Bikaner a civilized town. There are many formidable problems which challenge our attention and effort. We must maintain the solvency of our country, feed and educate our people and raise the standards of our people.

31 October, 1959

There is terrible poverty in our country, more than in many other countries. Poverty degrades a man. It subjects him to endless humiliation. One should realize that austerity is essential. It is no use preaching austerity to poor people. Poverty is ugly. Ostentation is made ugly. We should provide each one of our citizens with at least the minimum comfort necessary to preserve one's dignity, to be generous and frank. We need a radical revision of our remuneration pattern. The only way to rid the country of poverty is to increase our national wealth, our agricultural and industrial production. This is possible only with hard work. In countries like Japan and Germany as well as the Soviet Union and China, the people work very hard for they have pride in building up their countries. We need an emotional ferment in our hearts to stir us to hard work.

We must have a sense of national unity, a clean administration, respect for integrity. These are essentials which we should develop. These are qualities which we should foster in our educational institutions and public bodies. The way in which we quarrel about little group loyalties is a sign of danger. Many of us have no conscience about public funds. If we develop a sense of unity and weed out corruption, our people will do hard work. They are capable of it. Without hard work we cannot build a great nation. People will not work hard if they are not convinced that they have a good government. International peace and security are essential. We are hopeful of a peaceful settlement with Pakistan on the border issues.

Even if there are any border disputes, China's method of settling them by force is not in consonance with her professions of peace. The attempts to change the borders by force have roused the resentment of our people. We are baffled by the behaviour of China. She has nothing to gain by antagonizing a people who have nothing but friendship for her, who wish her well. If India is treated in this way, no wonder other Asian nations are inclined even against their will to look upon China as a menace to their independent existence and freedom. We are disillusioned but not yet in despair. Our Government still hopes that the border disputes will be settled soon and we will avoid an outbreak of hostilities. We feel that truth will triumph and patience will win.

THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, NEW DELHI

I AM happy to be here today when the first batch of students are receiving their diplomas. I hope the students who have received them have acquired not only adequate training but a social vision and enthusiasm.

A clean administration is very essential for political stability. France, for example, has had, after the end of the Second World War, many governments but all these changes did not affect the common people, for France had a strong administration. I give this as an illustration of the vital importance of an efficient administration even in democratic countries.

The establishment of the Institute and the School, the organization of conferences, seminars and lectures, and the series of publications issued under the auspices of the Institute—all these are a growing recognition of the urgent importance of training our administrative cadres.

In this changing world the nature of the State is also changing. The common objective of all States is the well-being of the people at large. The old Indian administrators were called upon to preserve law and order and contribute to material progress within limits. Independence brought with it new social objectives mentioned in the Directive Principles of our Constitution. The activities of the Governments, Central and State, are increasing steadily and large numbers of trained administrators are required to man the various public services and enterprises. A new ethos for our administrative cadres is called for in the new context.

In our democratic set-up the administrative staff has to explain and execute decisions and by their behaviour win popular support for the government policies.

I am glad to see that in this School you are trying to broaden the academic background of your pupils. You are having experts from other countries who teach the students the methods and techniques of administration followed in their countries. In countries which

have clearly sought social purposes, systems of administration are being evolved to suit specific objectives and specialist cadres are being built up with imagination and drive. The adaptation of these experiments to Indian needs and conditions should be a subject of continuous study by us.

It may be easy, however, to overstate the case for regarding public administration as an intricate and very specialized affair. One should not be tempted to elevate administration into a complicated science, with its own jargon; we should not lose the spirit and essence of the administrative purpose in an elaboration of the forms, the techniques and formulations of principles. The academics of administration may be a useful study, but the ultimate results surely depend on the art and understanding of the administrator. A good administrator should have a sense of purpose, a conviction that he is a servant of the people. In these days of increasing indiscipline not merely among the students, the role of the administrator is important. Cliques seem to be congenial to our soil. We should resist it with all our might.

If any official harasses people and uses his brief authority for terrorizing them, he is making a nuisance of himself and damaging the good name of the Government which he represents.

There is a general complaint that standards of administration are on the decline and that malpractices are on the increase. Some of us have become ease-loving and are not hard-working. We should take drastic steps to root out incompetence and corruption in the administrative cadres. Softness in such matters encourages inefficiency, incompetence as well as dishonesty. The Press and lobby talks in legislative assemblies are full of complaints. All these may not be well founded but no government should turn a blind eye to them.

Recognition for the men who work with integrity and imagination should be adequate. We expect from our administrative personnel courage and integrity.

Social upheavals are caused when the basic tasks of administration are not properly fulfilled. A clean administration is an essential feature of a civilized society. Good government is what we want.

The officials should not look upon themselves as a privileged

class and become bureaucrats. They should mix with the people and protect them from themselves and from the lower officials. From the officers we expect not only leadership but fellowship, comradeship. We must make the poorest and the lowliest feel that this is their country.

I hope you will go out and serve in your specialized fields with distinction and efficiency.

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

MANULANA Sahib was an outstanding figure of great courage, fearlessness, integrity and passionate love for freedom. He was a unique figure in our political life for nearly two generations. Even before he joined the Congress in 1920, he was a revolutionary. His political wisdom, patriotic fervour and sacrificial service were recognized early and he was made the President of the Indian National Congress in 1923, a position which he held for a number of years on different crucial occasions. His services to the country as a sagacious statesman, an ardent patriot, and a great intellectual are inestimable. He suffered for his convictions, but he never shrank from expressing his views. Among the great qualities of leadership he had was this: that he never shrank from expressing his views for fear of losing his popularity. A leader has to be firm. No man can be a leader if he does not risk unpopularity for his views. He who tries to please all ends by pleasing none.

Maulana Azad noticed the defects which made for subjection and struggled to the best of his ability to remove them. National dissensions have been a frequent cause of our repeated humiliation and subjection. He stood against them; he wanted to bring about the consolidation of our country. Though a devout Muslim whose work on the Quran has become a classic, he always stood for national unity and communal harmony. He made no difference

Speech on the occasion of the unveiling of the portrait of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at Parliament House, 16 December, 1959

between Hindu and Muslim, Sikh and Christian. He felt that all those who were in this country belonged to one country. The national spirit was the driving force of his life. He was an apostle of national unity and communal harmony, the lessons which we have to remember even now as there are forces which are still at work in this country to divide us from one another. Indian unity cannot be taken for granted. It has to be nourished with great care in these days of linguistic and regional dissensions. These differences should be used to enrich the unity of India.

While his profound humanism is well known, he had a clear vision of what was right and what was wrong in public affairs. While he allowed compassion to sway his behaviour in personal relations, he never deviated from principles of justice so far as public affairs were concerned. He might forgive a man if he insulted him personally, but he who did a national disservice had to be dealt with adequately. Compassion in personal relations and justice in public affairs were his principles. If we neglect probity in administration, the stability of the Government and the stability of our social structure will be undermined. He was much too fond of the right to prefer the wrong or the expedient. All along, whenever questions of administrative integrity arose, he fought for preserving high standards in public administration. That is another lesson which we have to remember.

Once freedom was won, he again felt that we must use that freedom for promoting social welfare, cleanse this country of sickness, squalor, illiteracy, and cleanse our minds of superstition, of obscurantism, of fanaticism. He stood for what one may call the emancipated mind, the mind which is free from narrow prejudices of race or language, province or dialect, religion or caste. We had in Maulana Sahib the civilized mind.

Whenever I went to talk with him, he was full of quotations from Arabic and Persian. I do not know, but I am told that his command over these languages was unsurpassed and that the speeches which he gave in Urdu were firm in their structure, dignified and polished in their diction, and cogent and pointed in their purpose.

Let us remember that he worked for the ideals of national unity,

probity in administration and economic progress. These are the things which we have set before ourselves. The only way in which we can honour his memory is for us to adopt these ideals and question ourselves every day whether in our acts we are promoting national unity, we are promoting integrity in administration, we are promoting economic and material progress. That is the way in which we can imbibe the lessons of his life.

Books were his constant and unfailing companions. He wrote an Introduction to *History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western*, which began with a Persian couplet which compares the universe to an old manuscript of which the first and the last pages are lost. It is no longer possible to say how the book began nor do we know how it is likely to end.

To find out the meaning of life and existence is the purpose of the philosophical quest. We may not succeed in finding it out but the pursuit of this quest is its own reward.

avyaktādīni bhūtāni vyaktamadyāni bhārata
avyaktanidhanānyeva tatra kā parivedanā

Maulana Azad ends the introduction with another Persian couplet which says: 'Those who follow this path never tire because it is both the way and the destination.' His life is an illustration of this. It was both the search and the attainment.

There is no doubt that we will not see the like of him again—a great man, a man of stately presence, indomitable courage and fearless behaviour.

THE WORLD AGRICULTURAL FAIR, NEW DELHI

THIS Agriculture Fair has pavilions of various countries, large and small, and gives us an idea of the latest achievements in agricultural production, the processing and preservation of food, village industries, rural and community development. It is a most important Agriculture Fair on an international scale. We have

Speech at the distribution of prizes, 29 February, 1960

here the co-operation of nations which adopt different systems of polity and administration. It is a recognition that we are all members of the family of man.

While progressive countries tell us about the great advances made in the techniques of agricultural production, small countries show us the way in which they are struggling to build up their rural economy. We have a great deal to learn from both. We, like others, are determined to raise the living standards of our people.

Agriculture has been our basic occupation for centuries, and about 70 per cent of our people live on it and allied industries. That we still have to import foodgrains from abroad is a matter of humiliation to us as a nation. The yield per acre in our country is very low. We cannot complain about the peasants who are enterprising, hard-working and open to new ideas. Seventy years ago a foreign visitor who was an expert in agriculture said, 'Certain it is that I at least have never seen a more perfect picture of careful cultivation, combined with hard labour, perseverance and fertility of resource than I have seen at many of the halting places in my tour.' The peasants, therefore, could easily be trained to use new agricultural implements, new methods of lifting water, better seeds and fertilizers. All that is necessary is a new determination.

Our Community Development Projects and National Extension schemes are spread over a large number of villages and if competent advisers tell our peasants about the latest advances in agricultural methods I have no doubt they will profit. We need an upsurge of spirit. If a few of our producers can show a large output, others can do so too. Farms like the one at Suratgarh should be set up in other parts of the country. Every district should have a permanent exhibition with competent advisers who can help the peasants who visit it.

A large number of our peasants visited these pavilions and saw for themselves how pests and insects are eliminated. We are encouraging our farmers to visit other countries and our graduates in agriculture also go out to acquire knowledge. All this is good, but the knowledge acquired must be made available to the peasants. We can change our life for the better by our own efforts. We must help

the peasants to help themselves. The very word '*vyavasāya*' means effort, exertion, purpose and resolve. Better agriculture means better effort. Everywhere we are fighting against hunger that breaks the bodies of men and women and prevents them from leading a healthy and full life.

We have a great tradition of handicrafts and cottage industries which even the inroads of industrialization have not been able to shake. There is a large demand for our handicrafts, cotton and silk fabrics, and nearly two million weavers are employed in them. We are encouraging these things, and the pavilions which we have put up show the fine work that is being done in different parts of the country. Every encouragement should be given to the cottage industries.

We are grateful to the countries which have co-operated in this Fair and their co-operation is a sign of friendship and goodwill. The prize-winners deserve our special congratulations.

THE SIXTH ALL-INDIA TRIBAL CONFERENCE

I AM happy to be here and inaugurate the Sixth All-India Tribal Conference. I owe this honour to the kind invitation of our esteemed friend Shri U. N. Dhebar.

The Constitution lays down that we should work for the welfare of the tribal people who are nearly 23 millions. It is not merely our constitutional duty but it is our moral obligation. We are not satisfied with the progress made in the last ten years in the matter of promoting the political awareness or economic progress of the tribal people. The Commission recently appointed with Shri U.N. Dhebar as Chairman to report on the administration of the Scheduled areas and the welfare of the Scheduled tribes will, no doubt, give us an assessment of the present conditions and plans for the future development of the tribal people.

The problem of the tribal people has been with us for centuries.

Inaugural Address, Ootacamund, 21 May, 1960

It was recognized from the start that the men and women dwelling in India belonged to different communities, worshipped different gods and practised different customs and rites.¹ The world today is full of racial, cultural and religious misunderstandings. People who are ignorant, cruel and bigoted are prepared to make the world into a shambles. The main cause of the present distemper of the world is lack of humility.

The Indian way of approach may not be without its lessons for us. What distinguishes man from animals is the consciousness of interdependence. Man is a social being and so employs conventions and codes of conduct which restrict his individual freedom and promote the co-operative spirit. Man is a social being with an impulse to co-operation. He attains his growth through interaction with his fellows. In a large sense every man is his brother's keeper. These habits of thought and patterns of behaviour vary with different groups, *na kulam kulamityāhur ācāram kulamucyate*. Custom is caste. The different castes are the names of communities with different customs.

The Indian approach accepts the validity of the different traditions, *sarvāgama—prāmānya*. Every tradition which helps man to understand his environment, which assists him to live in freedom and friendship with his neighbours, which helps him to lift his heart to the Divine is worthy of acceptance. We must approach the tribal people with affection and friendship and not condescension or contempt. We should not deprive them of their innocent joys, their songs and dances, their feasts and festivals. We should give up the 'big brother' complex. Manu tells us that it should be our duty to teach every group its own tradition. We must give equality of opportunity even to unequal groups. We did not isolate the tribal communities; nor did we encourage indiscriminate amalgamation. Without creating great racial disturbances, we aimed at achieving racial harmony. This catholicity of outlook marks the Indian approach from the beginning of history.

1. *bhārataṣu striyaḥ puṁso nānā-varṇāḥ prakīrtitāḥ nānā-devārcane yukṭāḥ nānā-karmāṇi kurvate—Kūrma Purāṇa*

This does not mean that we love the *status quo*. It only means that growth should be from within and not imposed from without. Each group should evolve according to its own genius. There should be no break with the past but an advance from the past into the future. The general cultural and spiritual environment will have its influence on all tribal beliefs and practices. Those habits which are repugnant to the conscience are gradually eliminated. Every tribal culture is in transition. The tribal people wish to forge ahead.

In every social group we can distinguish two sides—the mechanics of living and the art of living. The art of living relates to the cultural, artistic and spiritual aspects of social life. They do not grow in a vacuum. If people suffer from poverty, disease, hunger and ignorance, no art, no culture, no spiritual life can flourish. Tribal welfare organizations should do their utmost to improve the material surroundings in which tribal people live. It is our duty to remove their backwardness, poverty, their incessant struggle for existence. We must improve the general conditions of health and sanitation, train the people in improved methods of agriculture, develop cottage industries, co-operative work and provide easy communications and proper water supply. Basic education where crafts are taught and community life is developed is excellent for them. We must live before we can live well.

When the material conditions are bettered, the tribal people should be allowed to develop a healthy community life. They are generally simple and honest, contented and capable of enjoyment. They have their special qualities and values which deserve to survive. Progress should be judged not merely by advances in technology but by the state of the human being and relations among men. They should not be segregated but by our behaviour made to feel that they are an important and integral section of Indian humanity.

Almost all tribal people believe in the Divine Maker and Dispenser of all events. They should not be exploited by 'uplifters' and so-called moral reformers. No people do so much harm as those who go about doing good. The tribals are to be protected against the assaults of modernism. They should be helped to improve their own traditional arts and culture.

Whether in the matter of tribal welfare or the improvement of the living standards of our people, things do not happen. They are brought about. We can succeed in our endeavours only if we have men of integrity and selflessness working for these ends.

THE MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

WE won political freedom in 1947. That has been a simpler task compared with the one of administering the country in a clean, decent way. This seems to be a more formidable task. For it we require selfless leadership, an honest and competent civil service. We require a disciplined military and police force. We require expert industrial managers and skilled workers and good agricultural peasants. Our ordinary citizens should have civic sense and national feeling. All these things cannot be had in a day. What we are attempting to do to the best of our power is to take some steps towards developing a sound administration, a stable government and a healthy nation. We cannot say that we are satisfied with what we have done. There are things happening in different parts of our country which make us feel sad, depressed and ashamed of ourselves. What is necessary is a strong sense of patriotism. It is true that we developed a negative kind of patriotism when we struggled to rid the country of foreign rule. But a positive patriotism, a dynamic fellow-feeling, a sense of belonging to this great country, of being proud to belong to it, these things are yet to come. We have to build these in the minds and hearts of men. We need to develop a sense of the great traditions for which this country has stood for nearly forty or fifty centuries in spite of set-backs and blind alleys.

It is our desire to develop a democratic set-up in our society. Democracy has different sides to it. It is a political arrangement. It is an economic approach; it is an ethical way of life.

As a political arrangement we have adopted adult suffrage. Any

Salem, 24 July, 1960

individual who is of a particular age, whatever may be his literary qualifications, privileges or property, has a vote. One person one vote; We thus affirm the equality of all human beings. This principle is a part of our heritage. Each individual is a spark of the Divine. *deho devālayo nāma*. The body is the temple of God. Though we affirmed it we did not practise it consistently. If we were subjected to invasions and suffered many difficulties, it was because this religious proposition to which we pay allegiance has not entered the hearts of our people. Today political democracy cuts across the differences of class, caste, race and religion. Whatever these differences may be, they are irrelevant to the sanctity, the dignity of man as man. We should respect the human individual for his human nature, for his possibilities. Each human being is a potential candidate for the highest life.

It follows that we should enable all individuals to live a full, free, rich life. We must help to bring up the buried treasure in each individual without breaking any of it. For this, certain minimum cultural and economic conditions must be provided. That is why we have universal education as a target in our Constitution. We talk often of a socialistic pattern of society. This does not mean the regimentation of the individual. In the drama of human evolution, the chief actors are the individuals, the individuals of genius. We should not allow the individuality of human beings to be crushed or even diminished by the assaults of science and technology, by the mechanization of life.

Socialism does not mean equalization of the abilities of all individuals. It is impossible. All men are not equal. Socialism means only the provision of equal opportunities for all. We do not say that all men are equal, but we do say that all men must be given equal opportunities for expressing whatever possibilities they have. When we say that it is necessary for us to feed, clothe and shelter all human beings, we are emphasizing what may be called the economic aspect of the democratic ideal. We wish to diminish the distances between wealth and poverty and to raise the living standards of the ordinary man. So long as there are people in our country who do not get a square meal a day, who sometimes do

not have a roof over their heads, who sleep on the pavements of our cities, it is a challenge to us. No man who feels for his country can feel happy or complacent when he looks at this appalling misery and poverty. These are a challenge to us all. We should combat them, abolish them, if our country is to be called democratic.

Democracy is still an ideal. We are trying to put some social and economic content into it, and what is called the socialistic pattern of society is nothing more than a persistent and consistent attempt to give to all our people the wherewithal for keeping body and soul together. This is the economic aspect of democracy.

To achieve economic democracy, we must increase our national wealth, our agricultural output and our industrial products. The Five Year Plans are intended to achieve these objectives. Our rural areas have been largely neglected, and they require to be developed. The Community Development projects aim at this rural reconstruction. Unfortunately we have not been able to rouse the enthusiasm of our people. The administrative machinery is somewhat unwieldy and participation in these projects by the people requires to be stimulated. Our remuneration pattern all along the line requires a drastic change.

There is a more fundamental thing, the ethical approach. Democracy is a faith. Democracy asks us to adopt persuasion, restraint, consent in the settlement of our problems. Do you think we have understood the implications of the principle that freedom means restraint? Wherever we have a quarrel, we resort to direct action. We are full of anger, we have violence; we exhibit passions and do not behave like human beings. When we emphasize the ethical character of democracy we mean that every human being has an element of rationality, that it is possible for us to appeal to it. We must believe that we may not always be right, our opponents may sometimes be right. We should be modest enough to believe that there may be some virtue in our opponents also. It is this sense of humility, this sense of restraint, that democracy imposes on us. It is our duty to understand and come to a reasonable settlement with them. Dissent is not treason; opposition is not rebellion. We must try to settle our problems with reason without

bitterness. Democracy and violent action are inconsistent with each other. Whenever we have a conflict, we forget that our enemies are made of the same flesh and blood, are endowed with the same instincts and passions, hopes and aspirations. They do not belong to a different species of humanity.

It is a great misfortune not merely in this country but in many other countries that many feel that loss of face is a greater danger than the destruction of civilized values. There are many people who would stand on their prestige, stand on their honour, stand on some kind of dignity, when the life of humanity is at stake. When we find that we are face to face with problems of great magnitude affecting the future of humanity, what is necessary for us to understand is that time is a great healer. Human nature has an extraordinary power of resilience. Social and political institutions are subject to the same laws of mutation to which all other things in the world are subject. If we have faith in the resilience of human nature, the healing power of time, the mutability of social and political institutions and above all the goodwill of the people, the problems which divide us so fiercely today may appear to be purely academic after some time.

Before we tell the world to live in peaceful co-existence, we should settle the problems of our country in the same spirit. Example is better than precept. This is what we should attempt to do. We have problems staring us in the face, linguistic feuds, provincial jealousies, domestic quarrels. These have undermined our stability across the centuries; we do not seem to have learned anything from our past history. The only lesson history teaches us is that we learn nothing from history. Time and again on account of our inconsistencies, on account of our feuds, our jealousies, our quarrels with neighbours we have lost our independence. We seem to be again falling apart.

Are we again going to be victims of the same separatist tendencies? Should we not adopt more reasonable methods of settling the large questions which face us? It has been said in our country for a very long time that the whole extent of territory south of the Himalayas and north of the seas is India, is Bharat, *tad varṣaṁ bhārataṁ nāma*,

bhārati yatra saṁtatiḥ. That country is called Bharat and all people who live in this geographical area, whatever may be their caste or creed, race or religion, are citizens of this country. That our nation is one and indivisible is what we are taught. That is why in our great days we were able to practise tolerance and understanding among the faiths. If today we forget those lessons and we exaggerate our group loyalties, the future is undoubtedly bleak.

Democracy is a political arrangement which treats people as equals. It is an economic approach which requires us to raise the economic condition of the masses of this country and of this world. It is an ethical way of life where we have to treat other people as friends, potentially friends of ours though at the moment they may happen to be our enemies. A defeated enemy remains an enemy and waits for his opportunity to wreak his vengeance. A reconciled foe becomes a friend. Hatred is the greatest danger. It is our greatest enemy. Our whole attitude should be one of reconciliation. To make our country a truly democratic one, hard work, efficiency and organization are needed. When an American was shown a beautiful farm in the Middle West he said, 'Look, what magnificent work is possible if God and man co-operate'. The owner of the farm said, 'You should have seen the farm when God alone was running it'. God expects us to put in hard and honest work. He helps those who help themselves.

DR VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

You have heard a great deal about me from our distinguished President of this evening, an illustration of what is called oriental hyperbole. In fact such a glorious account of myself is a challenge to me, if I can, to live up to at least a fraction of what he has said.

I am glad to have this opportunity of presiding over the 108th

From speech at the 108th Birthday Celebrations of the late Dr Vijayaraghavachariar, Salem, 25 July, 1960

birthday celebrations of the late Dr Vijayaraghavachariar. I knew him during my early years as a member of the Madras Cosmopolitan Club where, whenever he was in Madras, he used to be at the bridge table. I knew him also as a resident of Kodaikanal for some part of the year every year. I was there twice or thrice and I had the pleasure of meeting him. I knew him as a Member, though from a distance, of the Imperial Legislative Council. In Delhi he was a great friend of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and I think he was responsible for the appointment of the late Professor Seshadri as Professor of English in the Banaras Hindu University. He was a great patriot, an illustrious fighter for India's freedom at a time when fighting for freedom was not very fashionable.

Great people have won for us political freedom but the more difficult task awaits us. It is no use celebrating birthdays of great fighters unless we are able to absorb a little of their capacity for suffering, of their surrender of self-interest, of their putting first things first and putting the national interest highest of all. Unless we are able to adopt their ideals, these birthday celebrations are not of much use. It is we today who are to work hard. The past patriots are an inspiration to us but hard work is expected of us.

THE INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION, SRINAGAR

I AM happy to be here this evening and open the 26th Industrial Exhibition.

I have listened to the account of your recent developments with great satisfaction and saw something of it as I drove through your beautiful city this morning. Almost all countries in the East are passing through a revolution. Revolutions are not always pernicious in their effects. The American, the French, the Soviet and other revolutions swept away many outmoded privileges and discriminations and helped to assert the equality of human beings. We are

Opening Address, 31 July, 1960

also in the midst of a revolution which is intended to raise our standards of life. Our methods assure the freedom of human beings and with their co-operation we wish to remove the evils by peaceful methods. The Independence we have achieved is an opportunity for the assertion of social equality and the achievement of economic progress.

Freedom on which we rightly pride ourselves is not of much use if it does not lead to a full development of human beings. In our country millions of people live below the subsistence level but they wish to have a fair deal, the minimum necessities of food, clothing and shelter, not as an uncertain privilege but as a matter of right. The time for a few with luxurious self-assurance and for many in gruelling poverty with their backs bent if not broken by the burdens they bear is over. This means that we should work for the economic development of our country. Our country is poor and backward and we are faced with the problems of industrialization, housing, food supply, irrigation, hydro-electric schemes, flood control. What you are attempting to do in your State and in this exhibition is to give a push to this effort.

The State of Jammu and Kashmir has mineral, forest and livestock resources which can be developed on a planned basis. It can then provide gainful employment to the artisans and other workers throughout the year in spite of the difficulties of transport and the rigours of the weather. Your handicrafts and woollen industries products are world famous. When we wish to develop an export market for these goods we must aim at excellence.

Besides the basic needs of the people, the prosperity of the State and the development of a self-sustaining economy are possible only with an increase of trade with other parts of India and by exports to foreign markets. The establishment of your production-cum-administrative centres, the industrial estates, the first of which was only recently opened, the starting of modern tanneries, joinery mills, various small-scale industries, all these help to spread technical knowledge and increase production.

The State is ideally situated for a balanced development of cottage and small-scale industries. The advantages of large-scale industries in the shape of the supply of processed raw materials,

machineries and other goods should be made available to the people from the growing production in the rest of the Union. Prosperity and progress are indivisible. If the country is to progress on an even keel every part should participate in the endeavour. There can be no time for stagnation anywhere and we must not encourage jealousies, hates and exploitation of one class by another. The economic development of Kashmir is a part of the general development of the country. We should not waste our time in strife and bitterness, fighting with some because they pray and go to religious shrines and with others because they do not do so. What is necessary for us at the moment is hard, honest work and sympathy for the common people.

I have no doubt that the employment and investment opportunities in the State will grow and each year the range of products to be exported will widen and spur the people to do better and better. The stability of any government depends on the contentment of its people. If they have no faith in the selflessness of the leadership, the integrity of the administration, resentment will swell and upheavals result.

It is therefore a matter of great satisfaction to me that your Government is keenly interested in raising the standards of the people.

GANDHIJI : THE PATH OF SERVICE

I AM honoured by the invitation of the President and Members of the Municipal Committee of Amritsar to unveil the statue of Mahatma Gandhi in the beautiful Rambagh Gardens named after Guru Ramdas of the 16th century. He founded the city of Amritsar and dug a tank which later became the site of the Golden Temple.

Gandhiji was essentially a religious man though his religion exceeded all geographical limits. The earth is the Lord's and the

Speech on the occasion of the unveiling of the statue of Mahatma Gandhi, Amritsar, 2 October, 1960

fullness thereof, *īśāvāsyam idam sarvam*. He introduced religion into politics, the religion of a free spirit, the religion of wisdom and love.

He shaped the fortunes of our country and helped us to win political freedom. He altered the classical method of winning freedom by armed rebellion and helped us to attain independence by peaceful means. Violence was not for him an inescapable historical pattern of settling disputes. We should not tread the path of violence, of death and destruction, whatever may be our aims. The wages of wrong-doing are not worthwhile in the long run. Let us be with the oppressed and not with the oppressor, let us receive suffering and not return it. When the motive of all our actions is the love of God, we will rejoice in suffering. We can resist evil without resorting to violence. Moral beliefs play a major role in human affairs. He never used an unkind or untrue word even to his greatest adversary, be he Indian or British. He said to an eminent Britisher, 'I want you to get off our backs; then we will be able to walk side by side'. His forecast has been fulfilled and our erstwhile rulers are today our friends.

In the formative years of our life, we should remember Gandhiji's teaching. When a country attains independence an enormous amount of latent spirit and energy is released. A new flavour of life, a new sense of pride and dignity spring up. These have to be employed for the purpose of building a new society. The task of winning political freedom was much simpler than that of building a new India. Freedom means not enjoyment and happiness but restraint and responsibility.

Gandhiji dreamed of establishing 'Ram Rajya', a state of society in which there would be neither rich nor poor, neither masters nor servants, neither unemployed nor over-employed, a society in which all men would live in equality of condition with the full consciousness that harm to one would mean harm to all. To attain such a social order, the impediments of caste and untouchability, economic disabilities and the subjection of women require to be removed.

When we say that we should get rid of the evils of caste and untouchability we mean that we should change ourselves, our

habits of thought and our modes of behaviour. So long as the old attitudes persist and shape our acts, we cannot remove these evils which encumber our society. They are the projections of our ways of thinking and not of any external power. We change the social order only to the extent to which we change ourselves.

It is no use offering speeches to hungry men who ask for food. Millions in our country do not have a single square meal a day and in this overcrowded and under-developed country it is necessary for us to do our utmost to raise the living standards of our people. In that direction we are doing a great deal. We are setting up oil refineries, steel mills and hydro-electric projects. Though there has been an increase in national wealth, the ordinary man does not seem to have felt it on account of high prices and other troubles. There is something essentially wrong with regard to the distribution of wealth. We are having a probe into this matter and I hope that it will help us to bring about an equitable distribution.

Gandhiji placed before us the ancient law of renunciation. Righteousness exalteth a nation. Politics was for him a path of service and sacrifice and not the pursuit of power and abuse of authority. He exhorted his followers to adopt the principle of renunciation but unfortunately after the attainment of independence, love of power, personal ascendancy, caste and communal feelings, provincial jealousies, political expediency and partisanship seem to be on the increase. In some parts of the country even administration suffers from group politics. Our provincial attachments which supersede even party allegiances remind us of primitive feuds. Each one of us will have to look within himself and rid himself of the torments of greed and ambition, false pride and group feeling. We have to build from within. 'We must train our masses who have a heart of gold, who feel for the country but who want to be taught and led. What is needed are a few intelligent and sincere workers. They can make the whole nation act intelligently and democracy can be evolved out of mobocracy.'

Today attempts are being made to introduce panchayat rule in many States. These are means to a kind of democratic decentralization. They attempt to bring people into closer association with the

Government. It is our hope that the factious spirit and the individual and group rivalries, which have been the bane of our country will be diminished if not rooted out in these panchayats.

At all levels of our public life, a cleansing is essential. I hope that this statue will remind the people of Amritsar that we are trustees for the country and we should subordinate every form of selfishness, individual or collective, to this great goal.

Before I conclude I should express our appreciation of the work so neatly executed by the sculptor who was entrusted with the making of the statue, Shri Amarnath Sehgal. I have no doubt that he will produce in the years to come more masterpieces of beautiful sculpture.

SIGNS OF DISINTEGRATION

I AM happy to associate myself with this function which has been arranged to commemorate the birth anniversary of the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Sardar Patel is one of the builders of modern India. After attaining freedom, he addressed himself to the ideal of national unity. He integrated the country by abolishing the 'yellow patches' (former princely States), and the quiet, persuasive way in which he effected the consolidation of free India should serve as an example to us today, when we are finding fissiparous and disintegrating tendencies whichever side we look.

Sardar Patel was quick and firm in his decisions while tackling the country's problems. Political genius consists in anticipating events, forestalling situations and dealing with them. When once you allow situations themselves to develop, it may be difficult for you to overcome them peacefully and quietly. It is therefore essential to look at the trend of events, find out what the likely results would be and deal with them and nip them in the bud even before they assume large proportions. Sardar Patel had this great quality.

Speech at a function to commemorate the birth anniversary of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, New Delhi, 31 October, 1960

We should take a warning from what happened in the past and do our utmost to consolidate the country. Everyone should feel that he belonged to the nation first and then only to his group, community or province. However, after twelve to thirteen years of independence, we have not been able to endow the common people in different parts of the country with a genuine sense of belonging to this great land. It is a matter which we must consider carefully and seriously.

Disciplined behaviour is important for an individual or a nation. There is a certain lack of vision in our present-day education. Our educational institutions should give a proper reorientation to the minds and hearts of our young people. Our youth must be made to feel that what they do in their lives will outlast their lives and vitally affect the future of their country.

Sardar Patel's great patriotism and his quality of discipline should inspire the younger generation. He was a 'disciplined soldier' who carried out whatever Gandhiji told him. He might have had his differences with Gandhiji and he argued with him. But once Gandhiji gave a decision, Sardar Patel implicitly obeyed it.

Some had thought that Sardar Patel was a 'reactionary' and that he was very orthodox, being unaware of the winds of change blowing in the country. This was not true. The Sardar was dead against untouchability and had called upon the people to forget all caste and communal prejudices and work together as citizens of one great country. In regard to the socialist reconstruction of society, he pleaded for increased production and fairer distribution of wealth.

The world is making tremendous advances in science and technology. Instead of using them for the benefit of humanity, we find nations misusing them even at the risk of the destruction of civilization. There is nothing wrong with science or technology, but their handling calls for character and discipline. The life and work of Sardar Patel should be an inspiration to us.

THE NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL FAIR, CALCUTTA

I AM happy to be here this afternoon to inaugurate the first National Agricultural Fair. Last year at New Delhi we had the World Agricultural Fair, and here in West Bengal today we are beginning a series of annual national fairs to be held successively in various parts of the country. These fairs are organized by the Bharat Krishak Samaj to whose energy and enterprise we are greatly indebted.

It is true that man does not live by bread alone but without bread man cannot live at all. Without freedom from hunger all other freedoms are worth little.

Agriculture—its purposes and practices—is, and will remain, basic to all planning. There is a widespread realization that unless agricultural productivity is improved and food, fodder, fibres and other agricultural products are raised in adequate quantity we can never get clear of the shackles of an under-developed economy. Even in highly industrialized countries the protection given to agricultural commodities and the continuous improvements that are being made in their quality and quantity and the increasing application of scientific research and methods in farm-lands are of great significance.

Larger outputs and cheaper food are the foundation of well-conceived programmes of industrialization. The amazing progress of America was among other causes due to her vast surpluses in food, cotton and tobacco. The economic growth of the Soviet Union is similarly due in part to the astonishing progress in agriculture, larger units of production, expansion of the cultivable areas, pioneering into virgin lands and the adoption of scientific and mechanized methods on a planned basis.

In our country, though a large proportion of workers are engaged in agriculture, we have not attained self-sufficiency in food. Food remains a precarious problem, and at the mercy of the seasons, the land is burdened with out-moded laws, regulations and practices, and these should be altered. There are no obstacles to increased

production arising from soil, climate or other physical factors. Backward methods of farming, inferior seeds, inadequate manuring, lack of pest control, small holdings and above all dislike of change and fear of the social consequences of an agricultural revolution are the obstacles. With proper leadership and organization these impediments can be removed. Our farmers are intelligent and receptive. They need more economic allotments, more financial assistance at the right time and should be given facilities to work in co-operation for marketing their products. The results of scientific research should be demonstrated and brought within their reach. Where mechanized cultivation is practicable and economic, the machines should be made available on 'easy terms to organized bodies of cultivators.

The various sectors of the economy are inter-laced and inter-dependent. A sufficiency of food and raw materials will enable more rapid growth of the industries ; on the other hand, a high level of productivity in agriculture should generate a larger income for the workers in the farms and create a bigger market for the products of the industries. And a high level of farm incomes can be brought about only by modernizing methods, eliminating uneconomic units, unnecessary overheads, giving the proper incentives to the cultivators and providing them with various services in implements, finance and marketing.

In this Fair there will be an opportunity for all those interested in agriculture and its problems to study what is being done in other parts of India and the world and appreciate the tremendous potentiality of our resources.

While mechanical and other aids are necessary, it is much more important that the conditions of living in the villages should be made attractive and opportunities provided which will stop the migration of labour from the land. Educated young men should find it worthwhile to seek careers in the countryside. As important as the dispersal of industries is the problem of making agriculture a pursuit of diverse opportunities in agreeable surroundings. The movement of the people to the towns is a constant erosion of our social base which should somehow be stopped. This is a problem that faces

many countries. There is a saying of Sir Patrick Geddes that the whole progress of civilization could be summed up in the phrase 'from polis to metropolis, and from metropolis to necropolis'. It is necessary that the conveniences and attractions of a town should be gradually made available to the villages by an imaginative programme of building in due course a large number of what are called agro-towns.

We are now having panchayat raj to train people in self-government. All those who live in villages aim at fostering the welfare of the village community. Respected leaders, irrespective of party affiliations, should be in control of the panchayat. Personal feuds and jealousies should be removed and the panchayats should function justly and efficiently.

I have no doubt that this Fair and those that will be held in other parts of India in the future will help towards a clearer understanding of our basic problems. I wish the Fair all success.

THE ROLE OF ENGINEERS

IT is a pleasure for me to be here and inaugurate the 41st Annual Conference of the Institute of Engineers. I am grateful to your retiring President for his kind invitation.

I know a little of the progress of your Institution and the work that your members have rendered to the industrial progress of our country and the profession of engineering.

Material circumstances condition human lives. We must try our best to remove the impediments to the full life of individuals. Poverty is our greatest obstacle and by engineering which is the conquest of nature for the service of man we try to remove it to some extent. True human life cannot co-exist with abysmal poverty. Industrialization is one of the chief aims of our Five Year Plans. We have to carry it out with vigour and determination. We have

Inaugural Address at the 41st Annual Conference of the Institute of Engineers, Bombay, 4 February, 1961

to improve the quality of human beings by providing them with the essential material conditions, and raise their social and economic standards.

By means of our successive Five Year Plans we are attempting to compress within a short time, historically speaking, two centuries when we seem to have stood still. We are pressed for time. Power stations, steel plants, hydro-electric projects, dams, are the different ways in which we attempt to carry out this task. The three atomic reactors we have now in the country are a symbol of the work we are doing. They employ young men who are intelligent and enterprising. While scientists increase our knowledge of nature, the engineers use that knowledge for the benefit of man.

Our efforts may be measured by the fact that in the period between 1951 and 1956 our national income rose by about 14 per cent and in 1956-61 the increase is expected to be about 20 per cent.

In all our industrial enterprises engineers have been the main participants. They are the managers of men, materials and machines. While assistance in the fields where we have not had opportunities for special training has been obtained from abroad, your profession should feel proud that you have taken up the bulk of the engineering and technical development. Many of our young engineers now go abroad and obtain the latest information and skill.

In the future development of this country engineers will have a prominent part to play. You, Mr President, have referred to the need for giving engineers a proper place not merely in the execution of projects but in the direction of the great enterprises on which we are embarking. It is my impression—I may be wrong—that we have today a larger number of engineers in control of our industrial enterprises and this number will steadily go up. They build and design, plan and supervise all production.

There is naturally a large demand for admission to engineering colleges and technological institutes. So long as society is interested in modernizing itself there will be scope for engineers and technicians. This country has had in recent times very eminent engineers and

we celebrated the centenary of Shri M. Visvesvaraya only last year.

Your institution includes members who belong to different branches of engineering: civil, mechanical, electrical and chemical. These were once upon a time regarded as separate and isolated, but we know that they all hang together. We have to adopt an integrated approach to engineering problems.

The main problem of engineering is to find the right material for specific purposes. The conventional separatist method is not adequate. Electrical engineers develop instruments that could be used by others. Chemists produce material that could be used by electrical and mechanical engineers.

Engineering education should undergo significant changes. You must emphasize not merely quantity but quality. People will put up with any amount of frustration if we use well the resources available, material and monetary. We may perhaps have to tighten up administration. Inadequate governmental policy and weak administration impede progress and development as much as lack of capital and inefficient methods of production.

Building the India of tomorrow, harnessing our water resources, keeping the lines of communication open, building the defences of the country, all these great tasks are undertaken by you. You, Mr President, have rightly emphasized that the true defence of a country is in the development of its industrial potential. You are contributing to the rapid and orderly growth of a new, strong and prosperous India. Very little distance has been covered and inertia is vast.

The progress of mankind is dependent on the increasing use of our materials. In his quest for a more abundant life man uses mineral, vegetable and animal products. He fashions machines also. The resources of the human mind are unlimited and if natural resources are exhausted others will be devised. As natural resources get exhausted, synthetic products are being devised. We have to see into the future and adapt ourselves to the changing environment. I hope you will meet the challenge of the time, advance the prestige of your profession and work for the future of our country.

THE TATA INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, BOMBAY

I HAD the honour of presiding over your annual function some years ago and today it gives me great pleasure to be here and inaugurate the Silver Jubilee celebrations. It is a matter of special happiness to me that my old friend and colleague for over forty years is now the distinguished Director of this Institute.

The services which the House of Tata has rendered to this country are manifold and outstanding. Apart from industrial works, many philanthropic and humanitarian developments are due to their initiative. Sciences and humanities owe a great deal to their foresight and generosity. This institution which is now celebrating its Silver Jubilee is an illustration of their keen perception of the need for better human relationships.

Civilization is constituted by a series of human relationships which provide for the best possible development of human lives. Civilization is not exhausted by scientific adventure and technological advance. Many of the peoples of this shrunken world have advanced materially yet they live in fear and bewilderment. The responsibility for this present human predicament is the lack of an adequate social ethos, a warm sense of human values and needs. It is felt that though we have gained mastery over nature, we have not gained control over ourselves. We have to control 'the lusts that war in our members', to use St. Paul's phrase.

Social sciences include economics, political science, sociology, social anthropology and psychology. These help us to understand man in his environment. They help us to know the society in which we live, the basic needs of human beings, the economic arrangements and political forms. Just as it is necessary for us to know something of the material world in which we are planted, we should also know the social world in which we live.

It must be understood that the social sciences give us knowledge of ourselves and the society in which we live; they are not a substitute for ethics, philosophy and religion which help us to control

ourselves. The positivist approach is not enough. In our attention to facts we should not neglect values. We should not merely report but offer guidance. Certain basic needs are essential factors of human behaviour. the need for security, for religion. The forms in which these needs express themselves are subject to great variation from time to time and from place to place. Again political theories and forms of Government are based on our views about the psychology of man. Despotism is based on a fear-driven society. Hobbes's *Leviathan* is an illustration of this. Locke and his followers advocated political freedom on the assumption that man is naturally good and self-supporting and that his economic activities generally tend to help society. They plead for non-intervention by government. The ideologies which divide the world today are also based on different views of man. While in natural sciences there is more uniformity, we do not have it in social sciences.

When we speak of social sciences, there is a tendency to regard the human person and the society in which he lives as susceptible of adequate scientific treatment. Human affairs cannot be understood by the methods of natural sciences or brought under scientific laws of the ordinary type. The constantly changing character of human society with its complexity and the fact that it is virtually impossible to carry out experiments suggests that social sciences need a special method of their own, a method of insight or intuitive understanding. Besides, there are no laws of social development which are inexorable. There are no significant uniformities which cover all periods of human history. We cannot explain social developments or predict their future course. While it is true that we are in some measure governed by our traditions and conditioned by the world and the country in which we live, the future is to some extent unpredictable. There is a certain amount of contingency which is due to human intervention. The panorama of events from minerals to men suggests a mystery at work in it. There is a mystery in the human being which is not revealed by scientific observation. While knowledge has no limit, mystery has no end. What does it mean to be a person? Freedom of thought is the nerve-centre of the spiritual life of man and his mental activity. Without that freedom

the whole of literature, the recorded fruits of that activity, would suffer to the detriment of human growth in character and knowledge. Man has the capacity to take a stand within the self, to withdraw serenely into one's incorruptible depths. That is being lost in the present age of hectic hurry and speed. There is a saying of a Chinese master: when the enlightened man is alone and thinks rightly, it can be heard a thousand miles away.

All progress in history is due to the free spirit of man. We should not make a confusion between men and things. There is a fundamental difference between mechanical and biological evolution and social and human evolution. We cannot force men to do what we want. There may be occasions when individuals prefer death to dishonour, rebellion to conformity. It is essential for us to take note of this distinction. There is an element of indeterminacy in human nature. It has boundless possibilities. The great leaders, Socrates, the Buddha, Zarathustra and Christ bring something new, inaugurate new epochs in human history. Man has a real role in the making of history. Freedom and necessity are bound together. While social sciences may disclose to us the elements which condition our lives, they also suggest how there is nothing inevitable and how one age does not follow another in normal succession. Sometimes the bond of continuity is snapped and a new order is created. The study of man in society cannot become an exact science.

Today we have to restore confidence in human nature, effect a creative transformation which will lift us out of fear and suffering, of despondency and helplessness. We must set the work in the new world. New men are needed. Human happiness lies in human hands. We need all our skill, fortitude and determination to shape the future along democratic lines. If this institution produces in the years to come men and women of learning and virtue, skill and judgment, piety and character, we will be able to bear the unbearable, achieve the impossible and establish the reign of truth, justice and love on earth.

The social sciences point out that great intellectual, individual and political achievements are made in ages of faith when the people possess vision and humility, charity and friendship for others.

Without these qualities civilizations fail to survive. If the future is to be saved, we should look to one another as friendly competitors in the arts of peace. We must rid ourselves of pride and lust of power, which, in the words of Isocrates, 'is a wicked harlot who makes city after city in love with her to betray them one after another to their ruin.'

There is a danger that the application of methods of naturalistic science to social affairs will make the human being into a social machine. A way out of this dehumanization is found in the field of human values, in particular moral responsibility. These values are not subject to the categories with which natural science operates. They all distort human existence. The philosophy of man should deal with consciousness, honesty, sensibility, freedom, moral responsibility. The human person cannot be isolated by obstructions. He stands in intimate relation with biological science. Yet he is more than an animal. He is a centre of spontaneous activity. He sets tasks for himself. He seeks his own interior qualities, unfolds new goals, and develops new ideals for self-realization. He can break away from the past. He can transcend the individuality given. He is in perpetual tension and runs the risk of alienating himself from nature. Value is that which gives meaning, a contentment and fulfilment to human nature.

EXHIBITION OF HEALTH PROGRESS

I AM delighted to be here today and open the Exhibition of Health Progress. The Exhibition is divided into three sections: WHO, Foreign and Indian.

You will get some idea of the progress made in India and other countries and the help rendered by WHO. WHO symbolizes the inter-dependence of nations. The world is one unit. We should not neglect our fellow men. It is said that if the world is to be saved from destruction we need peaceful co-existence. We need not merely

Opening Address, New Delhi, 10 February, 1961

peaceful co-existence but peaceful co-operation. Here in the World Health Assembly we find the co-operation of over a hundred nations in the maintenance of proper health standards in the world. Nations are anxious to protect their citizens from the epidemics of cholera, small-pox, yellow fever and other communicable diseases. Ultimately, health in one nation depends on the maintenance of proper standards in other nations. You recognize that health is 'one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic or social conditions'.

You aim at the goal of the attainment by all people of the highest level of health. This makes for the stability of nations and the peace of the world.

The great civilizations emphasize the need for health. There is a Greek song, perhaps by Simonides, that runs as follows:

Health is the best that Heaven sends
Next to be comely to look upon,
Third is riches justly won
Fourth to be young among one's friends.

Our ancient system of medicine — Ayurveda — makes out that health is the main basis of man's ethical, economic, artistic and spiritual activities.

It was regarded as an obligation of the State to heal the sick and the suffering. Asoka's inscriptions refer to hospitals for the treatment of human beings and animals — *puruṣa cikitsā, paśu cikitsā*. We aim at freeing all men from disease — *sarve santu nirāmayāḥ*. May all live free from disease.

Owing to many circumstances which we need not pause to consider here, conditions of health deteriorated in this country. After the attainment of independence, we have been striving to effect fundamental improvements in material conditions. In the successive Plans we have been aiming at raising the living standards. There is, however, a marked disparity between the increase in industrial production and agricultural output. The latter has not been effective. The Indian farmer is hard-working, but he does not have the facilities which farmers in advanced countries have—nutritious food, clean drinking water, comfortable houses and sanitary villages. If we give our farmers these, their physical strength and stamina

will increase and agricultural productivity will also grow. The health of a citizen is the nation's best asset.

With the new developments in sulpha drugs, antibiotics, radio therapy, it is possible for us to eradicate diseases which are due to hunger, poverty, malnutrition. The work of research in the conquest of disease is going on and will continue till the end of time. Many countries in the world, especially in Asia and Africa, suffer from lack of medical facilities and there smallpox, cholera, plague, malaria and yellow fever are widespread. WHO is doing its best to help these impoverished countries to improve their conditions. In our attempts to combat malaria, smallpox, tuberculosis and leprosy, we have received considerable assistance and guidance from WHO for which we are grateful.

As we are overcoming certain diseases, others are springing up. Health is not mere absence of disease, but it is the wholeness of being. Today, there is a great deal of tension in our lives, a lack of adjustment, a sense of insecurity, a certain lostness. Duplicity is forced on people — we feel in one way and act in another. These emotional stresses and strains result in organic disorders. We cannot try to bring safety from outside. We cannot purchase security by tranquillizers.

While on the one side we are trying to diminish suffering, on the other we are refining the methods of destruction. I am glad that yesterday some members of the Assembly referred to the banning of nuclear tests which threaten the life of civilization. Conflicts and rivalries are hateful. War is no solution to them. We cannot resort to war to defend peace. If we depend on force to defeat the enemy and save ourselves from defeat, we do not place our trust in humanity, understanding, reconciliation. We have a tendency to believe the worst of the other. With confused minds, sick souls and disturbed hearts we cannot reach peace. The ultimate truth of man is not his material possession or intellectual power but the illumination of soul and the extension of sympathy to all that suffer from pain, irrespective of caste, creed and colour. Love is the health of the soul. Hatred is the disease of the soul. To save lives is more thrilling than to destroy them. It is possible for us to live without hatred and envy.

without false ambitions, without high-pressure competition, without becoming slaves to the seduction of power; only it requires a new pattern of living, a pattern which unites the peoples of the world. The establishment of peace in the world is a moral and spiritual effort. There are men in all countries who are willing to serve this great purpose—on earth one family.

Every age is an age of transition, a turning point in history, but in some ages the impression of change becomes pronounced. Our contemporary period is one of great changes. We have to take decisive steps in the context of the environment. We should lead the world to a true state of peace. It is one thing to see the goal but to tread the way to it is more difficult.

The essence of history does not reside in the recorded facts, but in the aspirations and ideas of human beings who make history. The facts are the outer shell, the concretization of ideas. You are silently breaking down the obstacles in the minds of men and preparing them for a world without wars.

THE FUNCTIONING OF DEMOCRACY

MR Governor, Mr Chief Minister, Members of the Orissa Legislative Assembly and friends: I am happy to be here this evening to declare open your new buildings for housing your legislature in this fine capital. Bhuvaneswar has over the years accommodated gradually all the departments of Orissa Government, and there is a sense of space and beauty, and an inspiring atmosphere of the history of Orissa, the land which saw the great conversion of Asoka to a life of peace and non-violence. The new House in which the representatives of Orissa will conduct their business will, I am sure, add to the architectural uniqueness of your capital and the spirit of your discussions will be inspired by the great traditions of this land.

Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the new Orissa Legislative Assembly Buildings, Bhuvaneswar, 16 February, 1961

Democracy has meant many things to many men. We hear of peoples' democracies, guided democracies, basic democracies. We have adopted the parliamentary system of democracy.

Democracy has for its basic principle the dignity and freedom of the individual. All religions affirm it; all political systems accept it. Even Marx denied God because he believed in the potential divinity of man. The *Mahābhārata* tells us that there is nothing higher than man—*na mānuṣāt śreṣṭha-taraṁ hi kiñcit*. Man is a thinking reed, according to Pascal, superior to all the unthinking forces that fill the universe. Though they may crush him, they do not know what they do but he knows. This self-consciousness gives him moral responsibility. The free spirit of man is responsible for all progress in human history. Any system which tends to destroy the individual is undemocratic. Thucydides puts into the mouth of Pericles the claim that the free Athenians in contrast to the sternly disciplined Spartans could produce individuals 'able to meet every variety of circumstance with the greatest versatility and grace'. We are pledged to the democratic way of life and its techniques of discussion, persuasion, compromise, give and take.

In the Preamble to our Constitution it is laid down that justice—social, economic and political—is the first objective which is to be secured for all citizens. There is, of course, mention of the traditional requirements of liberty, equality and fraternity; but justice takes the primary place. And even in regard to justice, it is the social and economic content of it that is stressed. Politics are after all a means to an end; they devise arrangements by which social and economic justice is secured for all. No democracy will be worth its name if it only confines its activities to enabling the elected representatives to squabble for power and jockey for position and leaves the purposes of the State to be fulfilled by fits and starts. We have to bring about a social and economic revolution and make good the many years that the locust hath eaten. Large numbers of people suffer from misery, poverty and disease. Their material condition makes them wretched and dwarfs their mental and spiritual powers. On the other hand we have people leading lives of careless indifference, material luxury and selfish indulgence. Neglect of social duty results in

stunted growth and militates against the true spirit of democracy. If political democracy is to be sustained, economic democracy has to be speeded up. We have to reduce inequalities by crowding the sweat and tears of centuries into a generation. We are pressed for time. The rich have to accept obligations for the poor. Our successive Five Year Plans are intended to bring about an economic democracy.

To achieve the main purpose of the democratic form of Government, several things are essential. First, a disciplined party system in which all parties subscribe basically to the main objective and differ only on the manner in which the objective is to be reached. The plan of action of every party has necessarily to conform to the constitutional imperative of securing social and economic justice. The parties provide a forum for men and women who think alike to unite in support of a common body of principles and policies and work together for their implementation. The party programmes can only differ in regard to the methods to be employed, the paths to be chosen and the speed of the progress to be achieved. In our country we had several parties even before we achieved independence and after the attainment of independence we have a number of parties. If there are basic differences between the parties in the approach and disagreement on the ends to be sought there will be no democratic processes and the parliamentary system will be subjected to such severe stresses and strains as to make a mockery of it.

For the party system of government to be stable it is desirable that by and large there are only two principal parties. A single party in a predominant position will enable it to veto all opposition and become insensitive even to legitimate criticism. Power corrupts and nothing corrupts so absolutely as democratic power. An autocratic monarch is only a monarch. He is not the people. But a government of the people by a party which has won a large majority tends to regard itself as liberated from the restraints of any opposition. The size of the party and a long tenure of uninterrupted power generate over-confidence, sloth, insensitivity to criticism and, often, ugly fights within the party for the plums of office. Such happenings will cease if there is a strong opposition which is capable

of wielding the reins of power and giving a good account of itself. If there is a single opposition party instead of a welter of groups, it will be alert to expose the weaknesses of the Government and its policies. If the present non-dictatorial single party rule is functioning more or less satisfactorily, it is because the leaders act in the best interests of the nation as a whole and are responsive to public opinion and carry on with general consent and goodwill. Sooner or later two parties will emerge, one with more emphasis on continuity and slow change, the other on progress and rapid change.

A free Press is essential for the proper functioning of democracy. It was Voltaire who said, 'I disapprove of what you say but I will defend to my death your right to say it.' With a few exceptions, our Press is fair and responsible and its influence on the Government and the people is considerable.

Whichever party is in power, there should be a strong corps of young administrators in the party who are capable of directing the agencies with vigour. The days are over when a stable government organized only for maintaining law and order could be carried on somehow by an efficient civil service irrespective of the party in power. Ours is a positive democracy which has pledged itself to certain social ends. In the Directive Principles of the Constitution it is laid down that we will endeavour to secure a living wage, that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as to serve the common good, and that the operation of the economic system does not result in undue concentration of wealth. These principles set out tasks which are far more intricate and compelling than the mere maintenance of a stable order. They demand knowledge, constant study of the technological revolution that is taking place all over the world and an investigation of how the development of the community is to be brought about in various fields with modern methods and in as short a time as possible. No party will be successful if it neglects the training of its adherents, the education of its rank and file and the build-up of a body of workers of different grades of administrative ability and skill. The civil service mechanism must be used as an efficient administrative system, but the springs of action and the controls

should be in the hands of the leaders of the party. Distribution of offices on communal lines, patronage and favouritism will be corrosive of all confidence.

Politics should become an honourable profession and attract the best talents in the country. A democratic system should compensate the citizen for the excessive authority of the modern state which is engaged in changing the social order and creating new rights and duties. If the citizen is not to be the victim or plaything of authority, he should have the right to criticize and call authority to account. Insistence on fundamental rights is intended to safeguard the freedom of the individual. An independent Judiciary, Public Service Commission and Audit—these are the means by which the power of the Executive is checked and restrained, and we should do nothing to lower the prestige of these institutions.

Above all, it is necessary that patriotism should be the driving force. Leadership is a matter of the heart as well as of the mind. A true leader is one who feels one with the men who suffer in the society. Selfless service and spirit of sacrifice were manifest during the period of the struggle for freedom. They are not in evidence in a comparable degree today. It is not the position one occupies but the way in which one places one's abilities at the disposal of a leader that matters. There can be no leader in a society where the people do not know how to serve.

Democracy means collective effort, a subordination of individual personality to a common cause and the capacity to work as a team. When Mr Macmillan became Prime Minister, Mr Butler who was said to have been a candidate for that office was the first to pledge his loyalty to Mr Macmillan and he has worked with him as a loyal and illustrious colleague. Or take the case of Mr Adlai Stevenson. Himself a candidate in the past two presidential elections in the United States, he has accepted the post of an Ambassador with cabinet rank under President Kennedy.

Even in international relations we are pledged to democratic methods which we are adopting in regard to the settlement of our border disputes. In the present divided world, we have to struggle with patience and humility and strive for co-operative living and

the establishment of a world community. If our attempt does not succeed at the moment it is not labour lost. It is a step forward in the self-education of the human race.

The essence of democracy is not in any constitution or system but in the spirit of a self-governing community which is sufficiently disciplined. In neighbouring countries democracy is failing. For its success disciplined leadership is essential. We must combat the forces of intolerance within our society and persuade people that these forces are incompatible with the flowering of the human spirit. Administration should be clean and impartial. While in personal relations leaders may be softer than snow, in public affairs they must be stronger than stone. Corruption and nepotism should not be condoned. In all discussions there should be tolerance and goodwill. Our criticism of the misconduct of others should be tempered by the consciousness of our own frailty and fallibility. We should try to avoid suspecting the motives of either the Government or the Opposition. No one has the monopoly of patriotism. We should avoid sneers, insinuations and vague suggestions which cannot be adequately answered. Every one of us has his obligations to decency and dignified behaviour.

You have many problems facing you. It is not easy to graft a highly civilized form of government in a situation where the grass-roots are feeble and have wilted for lack of cultivation, nourishment and work. We have to revitalize the villages for it is the people who have to implement the Plans. Panchayat raj is an attempt at the decentralization of power. The village people will have an opportunity to participate in the control of village affairs and obtain some idea of the aims and accomplishments of the Government.

I do hope that these fine buildings will give you all a great opportunity to serve a united, free, democratic India. We are engaged in building a new India stone by stone. The workers constructing it may not see its future. Whoever plants a tree does not expect himself to enjoy its shade and fruit. We are planting trees not for ourselves but for those to come. To those of you who will work within these sheltering walls, may I express my deepest good wishes and fervent hopes that you will preserve the great qualities by which our

people were distinguished in their great days—tolerance, good nature and health of spirit. I hope that your achievements will be worthy of your opportunities. Jai Hind.

PANDIT GOVIND BALLABH PANT

FRIENDS: I wish to associate myself with the sentiments so feelingly expressed by the representatives of the different groups here. We have lost a great Leader of the House, a great parliamentarian and a great national leader also. His place in the struggle for freedom and also in the post-Independence years is significant and secure. I heard of his activities as the Chief Whip of the Swaraj Party in the old Central Assembly when there were many stalwarts like Motilal Nehru, Malaviya, Jayakar, Srinivasa Iyengar and others. I came to know him a little more intimately when I took charge of the Banaras University affairs from 1939 to 1948, and when he became the Leader of this House, our connections became closer and more intimate. It is a matter of great pride for me that in the last months when both of us happened to be here, he used to visit me at least twice a week to discuss not parliamentary affairs but to relate to me the results of his reflections on the affairs of this country. His last intervention in Parliament was in this House, and when he took ill he was preparing the reply to the Debate on the President's Address which he hoped to deliver on the 21st morning. Till the last moment his devotion to duty at the risk of his health stood out. For 14 days he was alive; that is the result of his robust constitution and the marvels of medical science which the doctors who attended on him were able to exercise, but he had to succumb at last and this morning about ten minutes to nine he passed away.

Reference was made to his great parliamentary skill. I have noticed it here; all of you have noticed it. Very soothing, very conciliatory, very civilized in his appeal, he made few errors, ruffled

Speech in Rajya Sabha on the death of Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant,
7 March, 1961

few tempers and disarmed every kind of opposition. You had in him a combination of common sense, clarity, balance of judgment and patriotism. It will be difficult for us to get another of the same calibre. Reference was made to his physical sufferings which he sustained during the struggle for freedom, but, as was said, these physical ailments did not produce in him any embitterment of spirit. He was human, humane and always anxious to find fault with himself more than with others. Of course as a parliamentarian when the opponents played into his hands he was devastating with a great sense of humour and yet he left no bitterness behind. His life is an example of service for the country. Till the end that was his one ambition and he has left behind an inspiring example for us all to follow. There is no doubt that we will feel his loss for many, many years to come. I shall certainly communicate the feelings of this House, of all sections of this House, of sorrow, grief and a sense of personal loss, that we have lost a great guide and a dear friend to one and all of us.

May I request you to stand for two minutes as an expression of our sorrow?

THE IDEAL OF SOCIAL WELFARE

I AM happy to be here at this seventh annual conference of the Chairmen of the State Social Welfare Advisory Boards.

The programmes of assistance organized by the Central and State Boards have become increasingly integral to our plans. Our country is passing through a revolution which is varied in character, political, economic and social. The last is the most important. Political arrangements and economic plans are intended for human welfare. If we do not stress properly social relationships and responsibilities, all other things will misfire. Investment in the people is as important as improvement of the environment.

Inaugural Address at the Seventh Annual Conference of the Chairmen of the State Social Welfare Advisory Boards, New Delhi, 24 March, 1961

The care of children, welfare of women, aid to the disabled, rescue-homes, working women's hostels and medical facilities are of primary importance and help to minimize social and economic barriers. Our Constitution stresses social justice. The greatest impediments to the progress of our country and the social disabilities from which our people suffer are caste discrimination, unfair treatment of the Harijans, communal differences. There are cults of exclusiveness, social barriers, social fences, which are hard to pass. There are other barriers less visible and more difficult to surmount. These crippling social barriers cause social resentments. We have proclaimed for ages that unity is truth and division falsehood. Though we declaim against them on platforms and ban them in our Constitution, we are still victims of these disabilities. We seem to have theoretical reverence and practical disdain for social equality.

Those of us who live in privileged positions comfort ourselves with the assumption that those who are submerged are inferior in ability and character. Where opportunities are provided these people rise and show that they are capable of work useful to society. Most of our people have talents and capacities, brain, brawn and character which our country can use. It is the part of compassion as well as national self-interest that opportunities be opened to them. There are fissiparous tendencies in our country, linguistic antagonisms, provincial jealousies, communal troubles. They often lead to violent upheavals. We cannot take for granted the unity of our country. On occasions we feel that it is very precarious. It is a continuing problem. The incidents which happened in Jabalpur, Saugar and Moradabad show how deep the canker of communalism has entered into us. Ordinary crimes, if any, are allowed to grow into communal conflicts. When the blood is poisoned, boils erupt in the weaker spots. What is necessary is to cleanse the blood. We have to effect a revolution in the minds and hearts of men. This can be achieved only by social education which will fight superstition and prejudice.

Women can play a leading part in this matter of educating our people for a new society where the only distinctions will be between the base and the noble, between the wicked and the virtuous.

Other distinctions are contingent and transitory. Our women are said to be *tapah-prādhānya* while our men are *yajña-prādhānya*. While men have strength, courage and power, women are noted for their beauty, wisdom and love. They have not had much scope for the expression of their great qualities. They are slowly emerging from political and social passivity imposed on them by ancient social traditions. Social emancipation is an important matter, but this emancipation should not lead to the destruction of the innate courtesy and charm for which women have been rightly famous.

A recent visitor to our country, an Australian poet, James McAuley remarks that in India 'women are lovely but faith is dead'. He describes Indian women as having beautiful features and 'possessing perfect carriage and walk'. He adds that 'faith and hope are eroded, direction is lost and values confused; moral imperatives weaken and a gulf of inertia opens into which every effort for good seems fated to fall back exhausted'. Any generalization about a whole people is misleading and erroneous. There may be a few women who lead directionless lives, behave like unguided missiles but as a class our women are sound, and if properly trained will be of great use in bringing about a social revolution. Whereas 25 per cent of men are literate, only seven per cent of women are so. No social progress can be expected with such backwardness in women's education.

If juvenile delinquency is on the increase it is in no small extent due to the behaviour of parents. Problem parents give rise to problem children. If the parents prefer personal satisfaction to the good of the family and society, their influence will be reflected in the behaviour of their children. If the parents do not fulfil their responsibilities, do not show adequate concern for the well-being of their children and do not offer them guidance, they are to blame for the increase in teen-age crimes. Children have an uncanny sense and notice the foibles of their parents. They learn more from the example of the parents than from their teaching.

Man aims at dignity, freedom, justice, greatness. Civilization is the process by which we endeavour to live up to these ideals. It must be our endeavour to develop civilized, reverent personalities who have

something sacred in their lives. The *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* speaks to us of the three principal virtues. When the pupil enquired of the teacher about the signs of a virtuous life, there was a thunder clap—da da da. The teacher explained that the first was *damyata*, the second *datta* and the third *dayadhvam*. In other words *dama*, self-control, *dāna*, charity, and *dayā*, compassion, are essential for any civilized human being.

In our village communities we must develop a new spirit, a co-operative ethos. While the Social Welfare Boards may function at the State level, voluntary agencies for social welfare which have been functioning even before the period of Independence must be utilized for the work of social welfare. Self-reliance on the part of the members of society will have to be developed. The conditions in which your workers have to function are difficult and often discouraging. Your programmes, I feel, are drawn up with care and visiting experts have evaluated your work and suggested directions in which your schemes may be extended.

I notice with great satisfaction that larger funds are being allotted for social welfare work and that you have drawn up a code for the distribution of grants-in-aid. It is essential that we get an adequate return for the money we spend.

When we survey the history of the past, the abiding impression we get is not of man's degrading inhumanity to man, horrid as it has been, but of the tenacious courage of the human spirit even in the face of appalling odds. It is my hope that those who undertake social welfare work will have courage, endurance and compassion which will ultimately triumph. I wish your Conference success.

MOTILAL NEHRU CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

IT is a great happiness that we are starting our Motilal Nehru Centenary Celebrations in this city where he was born on the 6th of May, 1861. This city is legitimately proud of this great citizen.

Inaugural Address, Agra, 6 April, 1961

He was a great lawyer, a great patriot, a great man, who was incapable of anything mean or dishonourable. His personal and powerful character won him esteem from both Indians and the British. In every sense of the word, Motilal Nehru was a magnanimous man.

Centenaries are impressive occasions when we take stock of what they signify and measure the value of what the persons they commemorate have contributed to the world. It is possible to give a long list of the attributes and achievements of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, his qualities of leadership and warm humanity, his patience and persistence, his determination and energy, his courage and force. All these have stamped his mark indelibly on the public life of our country. In the short time available I shall confine myself to the political and social activities of Motilal Nehru.

The credit for Motilal's entry into politics goes to Gandhiji and Jawaharlal, apart from the forces of history. He is no brave man whose spirit does not rise when things are at their worst. Though accustomed to a very comfortable life and regarded as a great admirer of Western style and manners, he subjected himself to the discipline which Gandhiji imposed on his followers. Gandhiji made spinning the basis of his constructive programme. Spinning and weaving of khaddar had become obligatory for political workers; khaddar became the bond of sympathy between the political workers and the millions of India. He cast aside his foreign dress and put on khaddar in Indian style and looked even more impressive and attractive in his new style. He hawked khaddar in the streets of Allahabad. He joined the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930 and suffered imprisonment.

In his political activities, two things stand out prominently. He was a great organizer, a great parliamentarian, and as the leader of the Swaraj Party in the Central Assembly, he set standards which we are striving to follow. From the visitors' gallery, I saw him on occasions at work in the Central Assembly as the Leader of the Opposition. Most distinguished in appearance as in intellect, he led the Opposition with great astuteness, legal acumen and parliamentary skill. He organized opposition to the Simon Commission.

He presided over the All-Parties Conference and drew up a Constitution for the country. The same year, 1928, he was the President of the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress. It was a great joy for him to see Jawaharlal take over from him as Congress President. He quoted a Persian couplet which said, 'What the father has not been able to achieve, the son will'. He said that it would be 'the head of Gandhiji and the voice of Jawaharlal.' In December 1929, the Lahore Congress under the Presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru passed a resolution about the independence of India. It was passed by an overwhelming majority exactly at midnight and with it the new year and the new era commenced. In his last moments, Motilal told Gandhiji, 'I am going soon, Mahatmaji, and I shall not be here to see Swaraj, but I know that you have won it and will soon have it.'

Apart from his parliamentary work, Motilal Nehru laid the greatest stress on communal harmony and unity. It was not a mere tactical move on his part, but a deep-felt conviction, a part of his very being. When the country was torn by communal strife and when bitterness and violence were rampant, Gandhiji undertook a fast. Motilal presided over the Unity Conference and on September 26, 1924, the Conference resolved that 'the utmost freedom of conscience and religion was essential, and condemned any desecration of places of worship, to whatever faith they may belong, and any persecution or punishment of any person for adopting or reverting to any faith; and it further condemned any attempts by compulsion to convert people to one's faith or to secure or enforce one's own religious observance at the cost of the rights of others.' This faith in communal harmony and religious fellowship is needed even today. Though we suffered in the past for our religious bigotry and communal dissensions, we have not yet learnt the needed lesson. The canker of communalism is deep-seated in our body politic. We should do our utmost to root it out and cleanse our natures.

Motilal was a radical reformer not out of any false sentiment but very cool reason. Communal passions are inconsistent with the true spirit of religion or the traditions of our country.

Jawaharlal Nehru told Gandhiji that in the last moments of his life. Motilal repeated the *Gāyatrī mantra* though he had never uttered it for nearly 40 years. According to it God is no longer an irate father or a stern judge but the Light of Lights, *jyotiṣām jyotiḥ*, Spirit of Light shining in the future, a Light towards which we all endeavour to advance with faltering steps owing to our own unworthiness. Deep down he had faith in Indian culture and its freedom of spirit, its capacity for healing the ills of men and nations. Motilal Nehru's life was marked by an essential fidelity to civilization, by respect for human dignity and craving for human fellowship.

Indian culture has survived for nearly fifty centuries. Though it passed through many ups and downs, it has come down to us with its unfathomable depths and great capacity for devotion and service. What constitutes the national spirit or genius springs from sources deep and ancient, all the time diverting and altering their course, now in flood but on occasions parched and dry. These are the imponderables that bring history home to our consciousness and make facts look stranger than fiction. We have suffered defeat on many occasions. These misfortunes have not broken our spirit. After every blow, India found herself again, and made advances in spite of pain and sorrow. Today, we are in one of the creative epochs of our history. We are trying our best to remould our heritage with insight into the profundities and with awareness of the demands of our age. Motilal was not a victim of the blind fatality of history in a violent age. He had faith in the spirit of man to mould history.

The Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh asks us today to 'dedicate our energies to the building of a co-operative, cohesive, homogeneous community.' If we undertake this work and carry it on we will be working in the spirit of that cordial, genial, dedicated servant of our country whose birth centenary we are celebrating today.

**PANDIT SUNDERLAL, TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU AND
PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU**

IT is an honour for me to be called upon to unveil the portraits of the late Pandit Sunderlal, Shri Tej Bahadur Sapru and Pandit Motilal Nehru. These buildings have seen their great triumphs, their forensic eloquence, their knowledge of human nature. All these three have been ornaments of the Allahabad Bar and have raised its reputation considerably. They were not only great lawyers but great public servants.

Sunderlal was the first Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University and was one of its founding fathers. His untimely death deprived the University of the services of a great administrator.

Shri Tej Bahadur Sapru I have known for a number of years and happened to be occasionally his guest when I visited this city. He was Chairman of the All-Parties Conference of which I was a member some years ago. He struck everyone as a great gentleman, a perfect embodiment of dignity.

Motilal Nehru, whose birth centenary falls the day after tomorrow, was not only a great lawyer; he was a great parliamentarian and a great patriot. In the last fifteen years of his life he participated in the freedom struggle and left a permanent mark on our public life.

If today we are anxious to build a prosperous India within the framework of democracy; if we are eager to safeguard the liberty of the individual; if we are today striving to build a world without barriers, without wars, all this is to no small extent due to the foundations laid in the course of our struggle for freedom. The revolution by which we achieved our freedom, which we are now trying to consolidate is a non-violent one—the revolution by consent.

Motilal Nehru was a staunch defender of civil liberties. The freedom of the individual is safeguarded in our Constitution. The courts have to do justice not only between man and man

Speech on the occasion of the unveiling of the portraits of Pandit Sunderlal, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Pandit Motilal Nehru at the Bar Association, Allahabad, 4 May, 1961

but between the citizen and the State. The Constitution gives us an exhaustive Bill of Rights but if the constitutional provisions are to be implemented in daily life, social education is essential.

Violence, Gandhiji taught us, defeats its own ends. It is the expression of hatred; hatred is worse than violence. Gandhiji would argue but not hate. He would tell his adversary, 'You are not just to yourself'. We can say anything if we do it in a friendly way. Democracy means that we should try to persuade and not coerce. There is a secret pride in every human heart that revolts against tyranny, against imposition. We may coerce an individual but that way we cannot earn his respect.

Democracy requires us to be patient with others and impatient with ourselves. In the Calcutta Congress Address in 1928, Motilal Nehru found that his views were not acceptable to the younger people. He said, 'I could appreciate their impatience. We need both patience and impatience—patience with those who differ from us, impatience with ourselves. Let the younger men, by all means, preserve their own mentality, but let them not, for the sake of the very motherland they seek to serve, divide the country into more factions and parties than there are already.'

As the leader of the Swaraj Party and of the Opposition in the Central Assembly, he showed his great legal talents in discussing points of order and privilege motions. Lawyers, by their nature and profession, wish to bring about changes through the processes of law.

We are today struggling to build a world under the rule of law. We call our age a nuclear age, a space age. The disintegration of the atom has brought about incredible fear as well as unparalleled hope. It is possible for us to secure plenty for all and save the world for humanity, but we have great fear for the future also.

Our prejudices in favour of orthodox political procedures and military routines are so deeply entrenched that it is not easy to abandon the present course even if it is known to be a fatal one. In the present world it is clear to all except the invincibly ignorant that nationalism is not enough. What we have now to protect is not this or that country but the whole human race. Where danger

is salvation also lies. We need wisdom, restraint, humility and human sympathy on a universal scale to safeguard the human race.

The past evolution of human society gives us hope for the future. We have to abandon the past with its national sovereignty and faith in force and work for the future with the ideals of peace, freedom and justice. History is a road in which the vital points are the cross-roads. Within the nations we do not resort to force to assert our rights. We have established the rule of law and we strive to settle our disputes through resort to law or other peaceful methods. If there are individuals who are tempted to take the law into their own hands, we have the police force to deter those who take to violence. This secures that no one uses force to gain his selfish ends. Within a nation we have the rule of law, the framework of justice and a police force, and those who belong to a nation have certain common ideals and purposes and work for the welfare of the community as a whole. If these conditions are to be extended on a world scale, nations will have to surrender their right to use force and be willing to accept peaceful methods for settling disputes, enforce peaceful legal solutions, avert violence and remove the grievances of large communities which suffer from political subjection and racial discrimination. We need an international code of justice which should be enforced impartially. Here is great work for the lawyers.

It is my hope that these portraits will serve as sources of inspiration to generations of lawyers and make them adopt peaceful methods for settling disputes, domestic, national and international.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

I AM honoured by the invitation to lay the foundation stone of the Town Hall to be named after Motilal Nehru. Though an outstanding national leader of his generation, he belonged in a special sense to the U.P. He was born at Agra, educated at Agra and

Speech at the laying of the Foundation Stone of the Town Hall, Allahabad,
4 May, 1961

Allahabad, practised as a lawyer for a few years at Kanpur, and spent a large part of his life at Allahabad. It is only appropriate that this city should honour one of its greatest sons.

Allahabad has made notable contributions to the public life of the country. We had here the two great liberal leaders—C. Y. Chintamani and Tej Bahadur Sapru. Motilal Nehru sympathized a great deal with the liberal creed, especially the liberality of mind which characterized these two veterans. Till the end of his life he was a staunch defender of civil liberties and social progress.

From 1892 when he was a member of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress at Allahabad to 1931 when he passed away, especially in later years, he was in the front rank of freedom-fighters. He presided over the Amritsar and Calcutta sessions of the Congress.

The Jallianwala Bagh incidents disturbed Motilal a great deal. It shook his faith in the *bona fides* of the British Government. He presided over the Amritsar Congress in 1919. The Congress session was attended by 8,000 delegates, including 1,500 peasants. Over 30,000 visitors were present on the occasion. In his Presidential Address Pandit Motilal Nehru said that they were assembled at Amritsar in deep mourning for the cruel murder of hundreds of their brothers. He was himself the chief mourner. He appealed to the British people to do the right thing by India: 'It is for England to learn the lesson and put an end to conditions which permit these occurrences in her own dominions. If our lives and honour are to remain at the mercy of an irresponsible executive and military, if the ordinary rights of human beings are denied to us, then all talk of reform is a mockery.'

He joined the non-co-operation movement in 1921, giving up a comfortable life. He said: 'Nothing but a deep conviction that the time for the greatest effort and the greatest sacrifice has come would have induced me to expose myself at my age and with my physical disabilities and with my family obligations to the tremendous risk I am incurring. I hear the clarion call of the country and I obey.' When once he joined it he submitted to the discipline imposed by

Gandhiji and worked for the freedom of India. His association with the Liberals inclined him to work for Indian Independence within the Council Chamber. Along with the late C. R. Das he led the Swaraj Party and established traditions of parliamentary democracy. Those who read his speeches in the Assembly and outside will be struck by his great debating skill, forceful eloquence, wit and humour. He won the esteem not only of his colleagues but of his opponents also. We are now attempting to carry out the great traditions established in those early years.

For Motilal national liberation was religion. He wrote to Gandhiji: 'My religion is my country and I am prepared to serve it honestly and truthfully with all my heart and soul through thick and thin according to my own lights unaffected by the religious dogmas of the world'. A few days before he died, he said from his sick bed: 'An honourable settlement will be acceptable but until the time there remains a drop of blood in the Nehru family, till then the country cannot accept defeat.' The services rendered to the cause of India's freedom by the members of the Nehru family are well known.

In all his speeches we find great stress laid on national unity. Nothing was dearer to him than national unity; nothing is more essential in the present context of our national life than unity. The first article he wrote for the newspaper *Independent* testifies to his concern for unity: 'The *Independent* has come into existence to lay bare the soul of a nation, of a people ripening into nationhood, of communities merging into a people, of individuals growing into a community.' The people of our country speaking different languages, professing different religions, and living in different stages of social development have to be welded together into a homogeneous community. That this task is unfinished is evident from the fact that even now his grand-daughter Indira Gandhi is touring the country as the Chairman of the National Integration Committee.

As the representative of the composite culture of our country, he was free from any trace of intolerance. Kabir in his song beginning with the words, *bhaja mana*, says: *rāma rahīm eka hai; kṛṣṇa karīm eka hai*. A Sikh guru says, '*mandira masjid tere dhām, īśvara allāh tere nām.*'

In 1928, in his Presidential Address at the Calcutta Congress he said: 'Religion in our day to day life has come to signify bigotry and fanaticism, intolerance and narrow-mindedness, selfishness and the negation of many of the qualities which go to build up a healthy society'.

Communal harmony can be achieved only through economic progress. In the Calcutta Congress Presidential Address he said: 'The masses want bread. They have no time to make experiments, and no use for theories and dogmas imported from abroad.' We are today trying to build a prosperous India within the framework of democracy. Socialism does not mean that we should all be poor or starve equally. Socialism is not a possession to be defended but a goal to be achieved. It means that economic power should be subordinated to the interests of the nation. We must fight against illiteracy, poverty and disease. King Aśvapati, according to the Upaniṣad, describes the position of his kingdom thus: 'There are no thieves in my kingdom, no misers, no drunkards, no one is ignorant, no one is unemployed. So far from there being women of ill-fame there is not even any man of evil repute in the land.' No man is ignorant. Theft, miserliness and drunkenness are regarded as evil. *Pañcatantra* gives us an idea of the Welfare State:

*rājā bandhur abandhūnām
rājā cakṣur acakṣuṣām
rājā pitā ca mātā ca
sarvesām nyāyavartinām*

NEED FOR A RENEWAL OF FAITH

IT gives me great pleasure to greet our countrymen and all Indian nationals who are living abroad on this fourteenth anniversary of our Independence. I assume that they have been following the trends and developments in the country.

Message to the Nation and Indian nationals abroad on the occasion of the 14th Anniversary of Independence, New Delhi, 15 August, 1961

For some days past, we were greatly concerned about the sudden illness of our President and I am happy to convey to you our great relief, in which I have no doubt you all share, at his rapid recovery, though it may take some time for him to regain his normal health.

During the last year, we achieved a great deal in the modernization of our country, though much remains to be done. The Third Five Year Plan has just been published. It takes account of our achievements and failures in the last ten years in the different fields of agriculture, industry, education, health and housing, and sets forth the measures to be adopted to realize our social and economic objectives of larger employment and better opportunities for all.

Our country is growing better in many ways. Millions of our people are getting out of their ruts, out of their sheltered lives. There is an aspiration everywhere to improve the conditions of the lowly and the least fortunate. There is a yearning for greater understanding and goodwill among the people in the country. Yet there is a sense of disappointment. The old contempt and fears and the barriers of caste and community still divide us. They are undermining our democratic system which is based on the four principles of national unity, social justice, secularism which means respect for all faiths, and peaceful social change. The social revolution now in progress has unleashed not unexpectedly destructive forces. These are the pains of the birth of the new order. Stability can be achieved only by carrying out the Directives laid down in the Constitution. Some of the social institutions which we uphold embody the principle of inequality. We invent empty excuses for our inaptitude in fighting social evils and breaking man's tyranny over man. All human beings, whatever be their caste or community, race or religion, have a right to respect and friendship. Great patience and self-restraint are necessary if we are to weld together the different communities into a single whole.

To make a new India, we need not only industrial progress and political maturity, but a renewal of faith in the future of our country. We must courageously scrap old loyalties which are out of date and build new institutions which are suited to modern conditions. Life is a constant adaptation to change. When different people meet

together it should not be the mere gathering of a crowd. There must be some bond of relationship if we are not to knock against one another. We must organize our emotions in terms of national unity. We cannot have national integration without national discipline, without a national ethos. Decency in public life should be maintained. We need the dedicated effort of all our citizens. It is my earnest hope that all those who live abroad and see how other countries are making progress will do their utmost to break down the old loyalties of caste, community, language and religion and help to build a truly democratic state.

If we are divided in mind we will be hesitant in action. Through panchayats, through schools and colleges, through the Press and the radio, through taluq boards and district councils we should help our people to understand the scope and significance of our present venture in which all our nationals are participants. A nation is bound by past memories and hopes for its future. We have historical memories and national aspirations. Let us integrate the two and march forward to the goal of a civilized, democratic Welfare State.

ADVICE TO YOUNG ADMINISTRATORS

YOUR total number is 273 of which five only are ladies— five out of 273. Is that a satisfactory percentage? You do not think so. You had the monopoly all these days and you have just allowed them a chance now. I do not say that it is an infant industry to which you have to give protection! All the same it is a small number and I hope year by year the number will increase; at least we hope to have twice as many next year. That is one of the results of our social revolution. It is easy to talk about this. It depends upon the emergence of all classes and sections. Unless we do it we cannot have national cohesion.

Address to the officers of the third Foundational Course of the Indian Administrative Service, New Delhi, 18 August, 1961

Much of the trouble that we have is due to our economic backwardness. We have only a few jobs for which there is keen competition. Education and economic advancement are great levellers. And how do you propose occupying yourselves? You have studied hard, worked hard for your examinations, spent a great deal of time, sat at the examinations and satisfied your examiners and after that, you take up some administrative post. What do you do there?

You should look upon your careers as opportunities for service. Unless you develop that kind of spirit, you will regard yourselves as mere wage-earners drawing your wages. Everyone of you is a participant in the work of building your country and you must do your utmost to see to it that you contribute your best, as you are expected to do. We have our engineers, technicians. We see that a dam here or there collapses. I say that the engineers concerned must be either inefficient or dishonest. If our engineering education is good, we cannot be inefficient. If it is not inefficient, something else has happened; that is, the sense of integrity has not been developed. That is what is necessary.

You are expected to be in close contact with the people—farmers, workers, peasants. The Defence Services or the Civil Services are above party politics. You should never get involved in political turmoils, which you may come across. It will be difficult for many of you to resist the temptation; but yet, you are expected to be above all party controversies and do your work in a straightforward and honest manner.

We have a few striking achievements—Bhakra Nangal, Sindri Fertilizers. But the large masses of our people are still suffering from poverty, illiteracy, disease. Bodies are wasted by disease, wrecked by starvation, and with the first attack of any kind of ailment, they collapse. The large majority of our people are still in a low grade of development. All our attempts by our Five Year Plans, etc., help to raise the standards of our people. Each one of us should feel that it is his duty to co-operate in this joint enterprise, which is a kind of partnership of the rulers and the ruled. We may call it Ram Rajya. Ram Rajya has been defined as one where the rulers and the ruled work together, where their interests coincide and

here they do not look upon other people with indifference or contempt. You should have that sense in you all, looking upon everyone as your own kindred. It is one thing to talk about morals, but it is quite a different thing to practise morals. Morals we preach, but we do not always practise.

We always felt that democracy is not merely democracy of the individuals but it is democracy of the groups also. Every group must have the liberty to grow along its own genius, develop according to its own tradition. When we define our country we say it is that land which is bounded by the Himalayas in the North and the seas in the South; that is said to be India, and everybody who lives there, whatever may be his community, caste or religion, is an Indian. It has been said that whoever comes to this country, we will help them to grow according to their own history. Many peoples of the world poured into India, got merged in this sea of humanity and our policy has been to let them grow according to their own history. All kinds of people came including the Aryans, the Dravidians, the Sakas, the Hunas, the Zoroastrians, the Muslims and the British. They had entered into the blood-stream of the country and its culture. It is not a culture which belongs either to the Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs or the Christians. It is a composite culture which has grown by the interaction of the different communities. In the Upanishads was asked: 'In what way do you ask me to worship my God?' The answer was: 'As birds fly in the air, as fishes swim in the sea, leaving no traces behind, even so is the pathway to God traversed by the seeker of spirit.' The birds when they fly, do they leave traces behind? When the fishes swim in the water, do they leave any trace? Even so each one has his pathway to the Supreme. There should not be any element of compulsion or coercion so far as the life of the spirit is concerned. This has been the tradition which has come down to us across the centuries.

This country, in spite of the slavery, subjection and shame to which it has been put across the centuries, is still alive and is still able to stand up and see the world face to face. It is not because of our military prowess or industrial prosperity or any other kind of glory; but it is because we clung to certain ideals and we practised

those ideals. When the Christians in the 1st century and the Parsis in the 7th century came here, there was no attempt to force them to any conformity. We built churches, temples, mosques, synagogues for the followers of different religions. This sort of peaceful co-existence has been here for centuries past. It is that that has helped us to survive. When we deviated from these ideals, we suffered, we declined.

Today we have come back to a position when we can recapture the spirit of our country, so that each one of you—it does not matter what your religion is—has the same kind of outlook and orientation, so to say. If today we say that there should be peaceful co-existence, what do we mean? In international policy, we say Russia and America must live together peacefully. The world has proceeded from the earliest times on the principle of conflict. We had all sorts of conflicts right down from the Greeks onwards, and the Barbarians, the Romans and the Carthaginians and later the Catholics and the Protestants, and we have today two great blocs. But there is no question that human nature is resilient. Social institutions are not permanent, are not immutable, and if you understand the resilience of human nature, the mutability of social institutions and the capacity of human beings to adapt themselves to new circumstances and new conditions which may be brought into existence, there is no doubt, that with the help of Providence, we will be able to get out of the present rut into a new world. We have facilities for all that. But what is it that is needed? There is the cussedness in human nature. It shows the depths to which we can degrade ourselves.

In Catholic theology there is a description of human beings as homoduplex. It refers to the dual nature of man, the ambiguous nature of man. We have said exactly the same thing: *amṛtañ-caiva mṛtyuś ca dvayor dehe pratiṣṭhitam mṛtyur āpadyate mohāt satyenāpadyate' mṛtam*. Time and eternity, both of them are located in every human being. If we pursue the outer glitter, the possessions, we will get lost. If, on the other hand, we are steadfast servants of truth, we will gain life eternal. There are qualities in us which evoke admiration and affection. There are other qualities

which evoke abhorrence. Each one of us is an ambiguous being. That is why we say it is necessary for each one of us to collect himself together for a few minutes every day, to ask himself how far he has made any kind of advance in his own individual growth after the twenty-four hours he has spent, whether he has improved himself or depraved himself. That is the question which each one should ask. All the other beings in this world—the animals—do not raise that question. The human being has to ask that question.

We do not believe that there is anything inevitable in this world. So long as man is there, he is a *swatantra*, he is independent, he can sit in judgment over nature, he can penetrate into the mysteries of nature, he can revolutionize his own being. We should never imagine that we are victims of circumstances—‘My *karma*, my destiny, my *kismet* has brought me this’. It is not so. The whole progress of humanity is due to those individuals who were not victims of circumstances. It is the inspiration of the impossible that really brings about changes in this world. We are moving pretty fast into a new world. It is not going to be the old world where one belonged to this caste or that community. It is going to be a world where each one will regard himself as a world citizen. That is what is happening. Science, technology, transport, communications, all these have brought the people of the world together. We can go in one day to New York and see what is happening there. Physical oneness has been brought about; we should aim at psychological oneness and spiritual affinity—spiritual affinity does not mean spiritual uniformity. The main principle which we have adopted in the past is unity in diversity. Whatever may be the differences, we must always feel the fundamental oneness that lies behind all things. We are all made in the same way—same human aspirations, same impulses, same sentiments, stupidity, jealousy. All these things are common to human beings. But the greater man is he who is able to control himself.

It has been well said that it is the saints that sustain the world. Sages, by their *tapas*, hold this universe together. Whatever work we may undertake, we must have discipline. Accept your neighbour

as your own kindred. It is no use your trying to sit in judgment on other people because you do not know the circumstances, the temptations through which they passed.

It is essential for you therefore to be human in your outlook, to pledge yourselves to decent behaviour and live lives of straightness and integrity. It is character that ultimately counts, and if you are lacking in that, whatever physical environmental changes you may bring about, all these things will come to naught. It is therefore character that constitutes the destiny of the nation, and you, ladies and gentlemen, will set an example. You belong to the higher strata of society. From your example other people will take their cue, and I hope that wherever your task may be, whatever work you may undertake, you will remember that you are inheritors of a great tradition and will preserve the tradition and contribute to the advancement of the country.

THE NATIONAL INTEGRATION CONFERENCE

M^R Prime Minister and friends: I happen to be here today to inaugurate this Conference on account of the illness of our President from which he is steadily recovering. We all hope that he will soon resume his normal functions.

I

GEOGRAPHY

National integration is a problem with which our survival as a civilized nation is bound up. We take pride in our ancient civilization which is continuous and unbroken. It is said that civilized life began earlier in Egypt and Baby!on but the links connecting the past with the present in these cases are completely snapped. No living memory of the Pharaohs or the Sumerians or their

Inaugural Address, New Delhi, 28 September, 1961

institutions survives. The basic concepts, metaphysical, moral and social, of Indian civilization are however still in use;¹ and they account for the staying power of Indian culture which has survived four millennia of nearly impossible historical conditions.

National feeling is sustained by the love of the land in which we live, the historical traditions we inherit and the hope for a common future. We remember the past, are alive to the present and work for the future.

India is a geographical fact. Geographically India is an expanse enclosed by seas and mountains, dotted with dams on huge rivers, sprinkled with mines. All those who live in the area enclosed by the Himalayas in the north and the seas in the south are Indians, whether they are Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs or Christians, *tad varṣam bhāratam nāma bhāratī yatra santatiḥ*. India is the motherland of all those who dwell in this area. People of diverse origin came into India and influenced her culture which is one, though varied in its manifestations. India was never wholly under the administrative control of any one monarch, though it came near to it in the periods of Aśoka, Samudragupta, Akbar. The British occupation gave to the whole of India administrative unity. Today our Republic extends from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari and from Kutch to Assam. The unity of India has been the ideal of the people across the centuries. The *Mahābhārata* says that all the peoples of India including those of the extreme south gathered together at the time of the Kurukṣetra war.

II

HISTORY

Vincent Smith says: 'India beyond all doubt possesses a deep underlying fundamental unity, far more profound than that produced either by geographical isolation or by political suzerainty. That

1. Professor Basham says: 'The ancient civilization of India differs from that of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Greece, in that its traditions have been preserved without a break down to the present day.....India and China have the oldest continuous cultural traditions in the world.' *The Wonder that was India* (1954), p.4

unity transcends the innumerable diversities of blood, colour, language, dress, manners and sect.¹ Behind the political contrivances and economic arrangements there are the cultural bonds. India has been the home of the spirit for the last forty centuries; and here the most amazing adventure of the human mind to evolve unity out of differences has been going on. Streams of people poured into the country from places known and unknown, the Aryan and the Dravidian, the Sakas and the Hunas, the Pathans and the Moghuls.

From the beginning of our history India has been a multi-lingual, multi-racial and multi-religious society.² It has been the meeting place of various races and cultures.

India's historic mission has been to forge unity among different races of men, different religious beliefs, not by obliterating them but by harmonizing them. Even a conservative legislator like Manu observes:

etaḍ³-deśa-prasūtaśya sakāśād agrajanmanah

svaṁ svaṁ caritraṁ śikṣeraṁ pṛthivyāṁ sarvamānavāḥ

All the people of the world will learn about their own traditions from the foremost teachers of this country. The Indian tradition is to acknowledge every faith and recognize value wherever it is found.⁴ Our seers had an understanding of the significance of differences. The seers of the Upaniṣads, the Buddha and Mahāvīra, the Ācāryās, Rāmānanda, Kabir, Nānak and more recently, Rama-krishna, Ram Mohan Roy, Tagore and Gandhiji preached one God to all the peoples of India.

1. Vincent Smith: *The Oxford History of India*, Ed. by Percival Spear, 1958, p.7

2. cf. *Kūrma Purāṇa*

*bhārateṣu striyaḥ puruṣo nānāvārṇāḥ prakīrtitāḥ
nānādevārcane yukṭāḥ nānākarmāṇi kurvate*

3. another reading *asmat* for *etaḍ*

4. cf. Quran.

O mankind! we created
you from a single (pair)
of a male and a female,
And made you into
Nations and tribes, that

From the beginning of our history India has been striving to establish unity in diversity. In spite of many hindrances and misfortunes India has been striving to attain this goal. In the glorious periods of our history, we emphasized this principle of *sarva-dharma samanvaya*.

Aśoka, whose emissaries took Indian ideas into Asia Minor and influenced the Essenes and the growth of Christian doctrine, cut into rock the motto *samavāya eva sādhuḥ*. Concord alone is meritorious. The concepts of Indian thought which filtered into the Roman empire flowed through channels opened by Alexander and Aśoka. The golden age of the Guptas ranging from 320 to 480 A.D., according to the testimony of Fa Hien who travelled in India from 401 to 410 A.D., was marked by absolute religious tolerance. The Gupta kings were devotees of Viṣṇu but gave Buddhists and Jains full freedom of worship and perfect liberty to endow their sacred places. King Harṣavardhana who ruled a large part of India from 606 to 647 A.D. was a devotee of Śiva but honoured the Sun-god and the Buddha. He held a conference of the representatives of different religions according to Bāṇā's *Harṣacarita*. Akbar, the greatest of the Moghul emperors, practised religious tolerance. He tried to establish 'principles of the widest toleration of opinion; of justice to all, irrespective of caste and creed; of alleviating the burdens on the children of the soil; of *welding together the interests of all classes of the community*, of the Rajput prince...of the Uzbek and the Moghul noble...of the settlers of Afghan origin...of the indigenous inhabitants...'¹

Intolerance and fanaticism marked the periods of our decline. We suffered when we became rigid and fanatical and prospered when we were tolerant and friendly. The misfortunes of our history teach us the need for the qualities of tolerance and goodwill.

ye may know each other
Not that ye may despise
each other. S.XLIX.13

Guru Granth Sahib in the spirit of the Indian tradition contains hymns from the Hindu and Muslim writings. A great Muslim saint Hazrat Mian Mir was invited to lay the foundation stone of the Golden Temple.

1. Malleeson, *Akbar* (1890) p. 171

III

RELIGION

India is today the home of the living faiths of mankind¹ and their followers live together in peace and friendship in spite of occasional set-backs and conflicts.

There is in man the aspiration to surpass himself, to outgrow himself, to know more, to love more. The spirit in us presses us forward. This impulse is said to be the root of religion but religions need not divide us. Whether we worship in the temple, pray in the mosque or kneel in the church, we are all members of God's household.

When it is said that our State is a secular one, it means that the State is not identified with any one faith but protects and respects all faiths so long as their followers do not behave in a way which is an outrage on moral conscience or a danger to the integrity of the country. Secularism attempts to remove religious rivalries; it discourages the exploitation of religious beliefs for political purposes. Our Constitution gives freedom of worship to all, permits us to organize ourselves for religious purposes. It has abolished separate electorates and our election law provides that a systematic appeal to a voter on the ground of caste, race, community or religion is a corrupt practice for which a person elected may be disqualified.

IV

CASTE AND UNTOUCHABILITY

The test of a true faith is the extent to which it transforms^r the individual and the social order. It must illuminate the dark places

1. In the 1951 census, the religious division of the population of India (excepting Jammu and Kashmir) was as follows:

Hindus	302.2	million	84.99	per cent
Muslims	35.4	"	9.93	"
Christians	8.2	"	2.30	"
Sikhs	6.2	"	1.74	"
Jains	1.6	"	0.45	"
Buddhists	0.2	"	0.06	"
Zoroastrians	0.1	"	0.03	"
Others	1.8	"	0.50	"

of our social life and religious practices. The R̥g Veda says that the human race is one, *ekaiva mānuṣi jātīḥ*. All men are brothers: *bhrātaro mānavās sarve*. All religions teach that the human being is of infinite worth, and deserves respect and loving-kindness, especially the unfortunate ones. Those who bear the deepest wounds require our greatest sympathy.

The code of conduct is called *dharma*: *dhāraṇāt dharmam ity āhuḥ*. What binds or holds together society is called *dharma*. Institutions and practices that lead to the disintegration of society require to be scrapped, however venerable their antiquity may be. The spiritual legacy of the past should be distinguished from the dead encumbrances. From the altar we should take the living fire and not the dead ashes.

Whatever might have been the historical basis for the development of the caste system, it has degraded the great ideal of the ancient Upaniṣads which affirm that the human individual as such is a spark of the spirit, a ray of the Divine. Yet we built stone walls separating peoples, exalting some as superior and branding others as inferior. We crippled the minds of people and narrowed their lives. The taboos and restrictions of our society corrode and break the human spirit. Sometimes we defend our superstitions as the subtle expressions of profound wisdom. We must get rid of the self-deceptions in which we wrap ourselves. There are some who welcome atheism if it would cleanse our lives of corrupt practices. We should bridge gulfs and not widen them. We should break down the artificial fences which keep us separate. While caste is ceasing to be a social evil, it is becoming a political one, even an administrative one. For the sake of attaining political power or administrative control we utilize caste loyalties.

Untouchability is a great blot on the name of the faith we profess. There is nothing unclean or untouchable in the body of God which is humanity. Vedānta Deśika, a great Vaiṣṇava teacher, tells us:

*śvapaco'pi mahīpāla viṣṇubhakto dvijādhiḥ
viṣṇu-bhakti vihinās tu yatiś ca śvapacāddhamḥ*

Character is the only patent of nobility. It does not matter who your parents are or what your race is. Our quality lies in our knowledge

and deeds and not in our colour, faith, race or descent. We cannot condemn apartheid in other countries if we do not banish it from our hearts. If we do not establish equality among ourselves we cannot demand equality from others.

Great souls have come again and again to liberate us from the disabilities of caste and untouchability but we forget what they sought to do. We create sects and coteries and fasten on ourselves the bonds from which they tried to liberate us.

Our Constitution disregards caste restrictions and makes the practice of untouchability a crime. Constitutional provisions are not enough. We should be trained to alter our habits of thought and modes of behaviour. If we wish to weld the different sections of our people into a single community with common objectives, the weaker links require to be strengthened.

Poverty and economic backwardness are not the monopoly of any caste, community, race or religion. There are poor people in all sections of our society. Some State Governments are now attempting to help all students whose parents and guardians do not have an income of more than Rs. 1,200 per annum. Education and economic opportunity are the great levellers. Universal, free and compulsory education for all the school-going children up to the age of fourteen and provision of stipends for all students of merit with inadequate means will help to integrate our society.

V

SOCIAL JUSTICE

We aim at social justice. There is no other country in the world where the economic disparities are so wide and economic opportunities so lacking as in India. How can we say that the human individual is of great value when millions suffer from poverty, disease, illiteracy and a sense of hopelessness? There are so many, they ask for so little and yet they do not get even that little. Our Five Year Plans are attempts to raise the living standards of our people.

Regional imbalances leading to conflicts between the States and the Centre should be removed. Rapid industrialization and balanced regional development will reduce the friction and emphasize the inter-dependence of States. The dispersal of heavy industries in different parts of the country is a step in the right direction. No one State is economically self-sufficient. The nation must be led along the path of planned and directed development. Regional rivalries should not be allowed to impede national progress. Economic integration will contribute to national unity.

VI

EDUCATION

We cannot build our country with brick and mortar or with hammer and chisel. It has to grow silently in the minds and hearts of our people. It should be taught to the youth in schools and colleges, proclaimed and practised by our leaders and worked into the texture of our national life. Education is not the mere imparting of information. It is the training of emotions. It should teach us ways of feeling and habits of behaviour. Our textbooks should emphasize the way in which our culture has grown from the time of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa down to our own time, how it has shown a power of self-renewal. Bad textbooks spoil the minds of the young, corrupt their tastes and degrade their natures. A sound system of education should give to the diversity of our country a certain unity of purpose and feeling.

The All India Radio is making a valuable contribution to the cultural integration of the country. The devotional music gives selections from the different religions and from different regions. Arts speak the language of friendship.

VII

LANGUAGE

It is most unfortunate that the language issue has given rise to much bitterness and controversy. Linguistic States have hardened

and not softened linguistic differences. Languages different from those of the region flourished in different States. Tyāgarāja who wrote devotional songs in Telugu flourished in Tamilnad. There were migrations from one linguistic area to others and did not cause ill will. Linguistic jealousies did not develop till our own times.

Our approach to the problem should not be doctrinaire; it should be pragmatic. The Constitution lays down that Hindi is the official language of India since it is spoken by a large number of people. In the post-Independence years Hindi has not become the language for inter-State communication. It is not used in the law courts or the universities. The States are anxious to use the regional languages in legislatures, courts and universities. Taking the present situation into account you, Mr Prime Minister, said that English should continue as an associate official language even after 1965. The meeting of the Chief Ministers of States and Central Ministers held on August 10th to 12th this year endorsed your suggestion. Paragraph 20 of their report reads :

The meeting welcomed the declaration made on behalf of the Central Government that English would continue to be used as an associate language for all-India official purposes even after Hindi becomes the all-India official language. This has been further confirmed in the Presidential Order issued in regard to the Union official language.

We had no prejudice against foreigners and their languages. The science of astrology was developed by the Greeks and we learnt a great deal from them. Garga says:—

*mlecchā hi yavanās teṣu samyak śāstram idaṁ sthitam
ṛṣivat te'pi pūjyante kiṁ punar daivavit dvijaḥ.*

The Yavanās are indeed *mlecchās* but this science has been well established among them. So even they are honoured like sages.

In a shrinking world where international organizations are playing an increasing part, adequate training in English for our university students is essential. The spread of sound education in science and technology, which is very essential for our growth, should be secured and in the present conditions no Indian language can replace English as the medium of instruction in scientific, engineering and technological courses, though in course of time the situation may be different. There are small countries, small in

size, or numbers, though not in importance, like Canada, Belgium, Finland, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, South Africa, where there are two or more official languages.¹

In a multi-lingual, multi-religious society we should respect all languages even as we are called upon to appreciate all religions. Our attitude to other languages than our own should be one of understanding and sympathy.

Even as we propose to have in the Centre two official languages, some States, where necessary, may have two official languages. Article 347 of the Constitution makes special provision relating to the language spoken by a section of the population of any State :

On a demand being made in that behalf, the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desires the use of any language spoken by them to be recognized by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognized throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify.

VIII

SERVICES

All India Services, wherever possible, should be established. About 75 per cent of the candidates selected on the results of the U.P.S.C. examinations may be posted to the State to which they belong and the other 25 per cent to other States. Those posted to outside States will be relatively free from regional pressures and will also make for national coherence.

Though efficiency should be the main consideration in the recruitment to the services, candidates should be recruited from all States and all communities.

1. Year	Country	Population	Languages.
1959	Belgium	9,104,000	French, Flemish
1959	Finland	4,416,000	Finnish, Swedish
1960	Switzerland	5,411,000	German, French, Italian
1960	Yugoslavia	18,655,000	Serbo-Croat, Slovene, Macedonian
1960	Canada	17,814,000	English, French
1960	South Africa	15,841,000	English, Afrikaans

IX

CONCLUSION

We live today in one of the great transitional periods of history when a great reorganization of human society is taking place, when the barriers that kept humanity apart are breaking down. We are striving to build a new way of life which shall treat all men, whatever be their colour or creed, race or nationality, with dignity and respect. The problem of establishing a new world is an educational one, a slow process but yet the only process for our goal.

If we are to contribute to this great adventure we should ourselves be united and strong. Only then can we face other great powers on equal terms.

Geography, history, a common inheritance and economic objectives contribute to national integration. The security of our country depends not only on our industrial, agricultural and scientific strength but on our social cohesion and solidarity. Pervasive emotional urges and attitudes require to be developed. Our minds and hearts are to be reshaped. There is the tremendous resistance of man to new ways of thinking. All transitions belong to the realm of tragedy. A stagnant society is a dangerous one. True modernism is independence of mind and not slavery to the past. We cannot move forward if we are always looking backward. History is not static; time is a great innovator. We have to fight social evils which are crippling our lives. Habits, prejudices, vested interests are to be broken down. Great issues and small minds cannot go together. We need penetrating minds, creative ideals and burning conscience. History is an interplay of leadership, opportunity and circumstance. For a nation to grow the people must have a knowledge of having worked together in the past and the will to work together in the future. We have the knowledge of having achieved in the past great things including the freedom of our country through co-operative effort. We have the will to work together for a greater future for our country. Let us dedicate ourselves to this task with courage and wisdom, faith and love.

TWELFTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

I AM happy to be here this evening and inaugurate the Twelfth National Conference of Social Work. It is a national voluntary organization working for the promotion and co-ordination of social welfare policies. As you know, it holds conferences and seminars for discussing problems in a scientific manner.

Whether we belong to any creed or not, social service is a moral obligation. To be one's self one must lose oneself; one finds one's self through others, not by being enclosed within one's own being. Our texts declare that man is launched on this endless adventure of existence and can raise himself only by serving others.

*ślokārdhena pravakṣyāmi yad uktam granthakoṭibhiḥ
paropakāraḥ puṇyāya pāpāya parapīḍnam
śrūyatām dharmasarvasvaṁ śrutvā caivāvadhāryatām
ātmanaḥ pratikṛtyānī pareṣāṁ na samācaret*

The most important problem today is national unity. The National Integration Conference held its last sitting on 1st October and the next day we hear of disturbances at Aligarh which have spread to other centres. This fills one with sorrow and shame. If the universities are unable to give the students a proper sense of values, a sense of inward restraint and an attitude of settling differences by agreement, if they cannot train their students to behave decently, they have failed in their main function. We may become clever and efficient, informed and skilled, but we should be able to control ourselves. The swift decline in student behaviour has dangerous consequences to society. The greatest need today is social discipline. 'As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he.' Law and regulations cannot improve us. It is by steady training and the example set before the students by us that an improvement can be achieved. Education, if it is not education in depth, in self-discipline, is wasted labour.

In these disturbances it is not the students alone who are to blame. We elders cannot escape our responsibility. Even if we do not encourage mischievous activities in young people, we acquiesce

Inaugural Address, New Delhi, 6 October, 1961

in them. If social work is to be done, it must start with the parents who should set better example to the youngsters.

In these matters women can be of great service. It is a matter of satisfaction to us that they have thrown away the restrictions of the past and are now taking their place in every walk of life. We are not satisfied with the present state of progress. Their active participation in public life and the professions should be encouraged.

Our Constitution and our leaders tell us that we should try to build a casteless and classless society. If this is to be brought about it can only be by a mental transformation. Religious education is said to be one of the means by which this inward change is effected, but we need not quarrel about our religious beliefs. Our whole tradition has been one of toleration. The cows may be of different colours, but the milk is of one colour, white; the lamps may be different, but their illumination is the same; the fuel may be of different kinds but the fire is the same. India is the home of all the great living faiths, and by and large we have maintained a spirit of harmony.

Social work requires not mere competence but compassion also. The quality of sympathy is what is necessary. We may have all the wealth of the world but may still be unhappy and neurotic. It is by personal contacts that we have to help individuals. In our present conditions there are many whose lives are broken, whose hearts are anguished. Their joys are on the surface but artificial, their sorrows are hidden but real. To help them what is necessary is the quality of sympathy.

sevā dharmo paramagahano yoginām api agamyah

We cannot achieve social welfare if education of the right type and economic opportunities are not provided. The State has to remove these great disabilities. But the social workers can bring about a proper temper. They can deepen the spirit of tolerance and understanding.

WATERS FROM THE RAJASTHAN CANAL

I AM happy to be here today and associate myself with the formal release of waters from the Rajasthan Canal. This is one illustration of how our country is trying to modernize itself. India's leap forward into the twentieth century is symbolized by this also. The task of compressing into decades the work which took centuries for other nations to achieve is a great one. When our people look at the spectacular achievements of other countries they become restless and impatient. We are producing electric power, oil, steel, aircraft, etc. Our progress has to be speeded up. We can achieve rapid progress only by concerted and co-operative effort as we have done in the construction of this canal.

In this matter Shri Kanwar Sain and his colleagues deserve our hearty congratulations. The scheme was conceived by Shri Kanwar Sain when he was Chief Engineer of Bikaner State, and sent to the Government of India in October 1948. When Shri Kanwar Sain joined the Government of India in 1949 the scheme, which was in a dormant condition, revived. The first step of constructing the Harika head-works was completed in 1952. The approval of the World Bank was sought and obtained. The Government of India sanctioned the scheme in 1957 and the actual work commenced in 1958, when Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, our late respected Home Minister, turned the first sod. When Shri Kanwar Sain retired from Government service, he was put in charge of this project. When the Canal is completed, we have just been told, it will be the biggest irrigation unit in the world. It has been done most economically.

The Indus Waters Agreement with Pakistan and the co-operation of the two States, Punjab and Rajasthan, have enabled us to undertake this project which is expected to turn the Rajasthan desert into green fields providing the country with foodgrains.

An area of 10,000 square miles of desert in the space of another twenty years will be made into a fertile region. Then it will be able to accommodate twenty times the number of people there are now

Speech at the inauguration of the First Channel of the Rajasthan Canal Project, Hanumangarh, 11 October, 1961

in this area. The development plan which extends over a period of twenty years includes schemes not only on agriculture but industries, animal husbandry and forests. Village settlements, townships, new communications, posts and telegraphs, education facilities, health schemes will all be taken up. The entire developmental activity has been co-ordinated and priorities have been assigned to each activity in the overall Plan.

This is a memorable day for Rajasthan, famous already for many heroic deeds in the past which have become legendary. But this achievement is more heroic than any of the past exploits for it is essentially a work of peace, when deserts begin to blossom, when aridity will become a thing of the past. This is a romantic adventure which the State is engaged in, an act of the triumph of man over the difficulties of nature.

The whole scheme gives us confidence for the future. Its execution requires detailed planning, organizational skill, executive capacity and team-work of so many ordinary men and women. Our strength lies in unity and our weakness in disunion. When floods, famines and earthquakes occur they make no distinction between man and man or group and group. So also when great achievements like the present one occur, we are all benefited, whatever be our caste or community.

Though this achievement is in Rajasthan it is a national enterprise in which all the people of our country take pride.

I have great pleasure in releasing formally the waters of the Rajasthan Canal.

THE CONFERENCE OF GOVERNORS

I CONSIDER it a great privilege to welcome you all on behalf of the President and myself.

I know you will all join me in offering our best wishes to the President for a speedy recovery of his strength. We all wish him many years of health and happiness.

Inaugural Address, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 28 October, 1961

Since we last met the country has lost a great patriot and wise statesman in the passing away on the 7th of March of Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant. His life was dedicated to the service of the people, and their unity and well-being.

These Conferences, as you are aware, are informal. They provide opportunities for Governors to meet and exchange views and discuss common problems; and while we pass no resolutions these annual gatherings enable us to learn a great deal from each other.

In our shrinking world, the year since we last met has been one of anxiety both at home and abroad. There were discords among nations abroad and distress at home on account of unprecedented and widespread floods.

In Orissa the Coalition Ministry resigned on the 21st February 1961 and by a Proclamation the President took over the administration of the State. This was followed by general elections in the State in June and as a result the Congress Party was returned by a large majority and stability was restored in the State under a homogeneous Cabinet.

The transitional arrangements for the administration of Nagaland have come into force. The Interim Body and the Executive Councilors have started functioning. The first session of the Interim Body was held in May last under the chairmanship of the late Dr Imkongliba Ao. In August a hostile Naga agent shot and killed Dr Ao. Shri T. N. Angami has been elected to succeed him as the Chairman of the Interim Body, and the administration of Nagaland is being carried on with firmness and determination. It is hoped that the hostile section of the Nagas will soon be won over to the ways of peace.

During the year Dadra and Nagar Haveli, which had liberated themselves from Portuguese colonial domination, were formally incorporated in the Indian Union by the passing of the Constitution (Tenth Amendment) Bill. Goa, Diu and Daman, however, still continue to be under the colonial domination of Portugal.

The exchange of territories along the India-West Pakistan border near Ferozepur District has been completed; the division of Berubari

in the terms of the agreement with Pakistan still remains to be worked out.

On the administrative side the most important event has been the spread of Panchayati Raj. It has already been introduced in Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Mysore, Assam, Orissa and recently in the Punjab. Necessary legislation has been passed in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh; and in Bihar, Maharashtra, Gujarat and West Bengal legislative action is under way at various stages. We can hope that with the wide support which the State Governments and people have evinced Panchayati Raj will succeed and result in an all-round improvement in village government throughout the country and strengthen the basis of democracy at the roots.

During the year the outbreak of communal violence in the city of Jabalpur in February which later on spread to many other nearby towns resulting in a number of deaths and senseless destruction of property; the Nag Vidarbha Andolan Samiti's agitation resulting in riots in Nagpur in March; the violent linguistic disturbances in Silchar town in Cachar district on May 19th in connection with the movement for the recognition of Bengali also as a State language; and the recent violent disturbances in Aligarh and its neighbouring towns, were the principal breaches of peace which caused public anxiety. Apart from these unfortunate incidents, peace and order in the country may be said to have been well maintained.

Agitation for 'Punjabi Suba' is also still with us and despite our best efforts to convince the Akali Dal that any partition of the Punjab would harm the Sikhs beyond measure, the Akalis pressed hard for a unilingual Punjabi-speaking State and their leader Master Tara Singh went on a fast on the 15th of August in order to put pressure on the Government to accept the Akali demand. The Government made it clear that they were unable to concede the demand for a separate 'Punjabi Suba', while at the same time they offered to set up a commission to inquire into any grievances which Master Tara Singh and his associates may have. After protracted negotiations the fast was given up on the 1st of October and the Government are now considering the setting up of a suitable

Commission in accordance with the Prime Minister's offer in Parliament.

Inter-State disputes as regards boundaries, river-water distribution and the like still seem to affect the normal friendly relations between certain States.

All these disturbances and dissensions have made us alive to the necessity of taking some positive action for the integration of the nation and the effective countering of such fissiparous tendencies as communal, caste, regional and linguistic differences.

Another matter of public concern which calls for attention is the increase of unrest among students. It is essential that we should have teachers who by their example exercise a wholesome influence on the students—teachers who are free from the canker of communalism and factionalism. Wholesome instruction in the classes is also essential and for this purpose we should have better textbooks.

In the economic field the most important event during the year has been the inauguration of the Third Five Year Plan. As a result of the first two Plans which have just been completed our national economy which was almost stagnant in the previous decades has made considerable advance. Experience of the past decade, however, shows that to make a significant impact on the level of living of the bulk of our people, the rate of economic development must be very substantially stepped up. The Third Five Year Plan which has been inaugurated this year seeks to speed up the expansion of the economy to the utmost extent possible. I need not mention the principal aims which have been set for the Third Five Year Plan nor the details of the financial outlay and physical targets which have been fixed. These have been adequately explained in the published Report. It is necessary, however, for all of us to realize that the success of the Plan depends largely on the manner in which the tasks are carried out by the administration and the co-operation which the Government receives from the people.

Almost on the eve of the Third Plan we had our decennial census. It shows that the increase in India's population between 1951 and 1961 is about 77 million which is nearly as large as the increase in the two preceding decades. Growth of population inevitably involves

questions of increased employment and food. The Third Plan aims at ensuring self-sufficiency in foodgrains and increase in agricultural production.

The total production of all types of foodgrains during 1960-61 has risen to a record level of 79.3 million tons which augurs well for the future. The index of overall agricultural production for 1960-61 has risen to a record level of 139.1. This shows an increase of 8.1 per cent over the revised index of 128.7 for 1959-60.

Food prices this year have been reasonable and generally tended to be lower than those in the preceding year. The recent decontrol of sugar is another gratifying factor in the food position.

It is estimated that the increase in the labour force in the Third Plan will be roughly 17 million. As against this, it is estimated that the Third Plan will provide additional employment of the order of 14 million. Leaving aside the backlog it will, therefore, be necessary to find additional employment opportunities for about 3 million new entrants to the labour force. In view of the numbers involved, the provision of adequate employment opportunities is amongst the most difficult tasks to be accomplished during the next five years, and we should see to it that the new employment opportunities envisaged in the Third Plan are spread out more widely and evenly than in the past.

We know that the position in regard to foreign exchange is a serious one but the carry-overs from the authorizations of the Second Plan and the foreign assistance that has been assured to us for the first two years gives the Third Plan a good start. Our exports will have to be raised considerably, especially in view of the likely effects on India's trade of Britain's decision to negotiate for entry into the European Common Market.

This year again we have had many devastating floods in most of the States. Almost every important river has been in spate, causing considerable and widespread damage. The experts say that the impression that floods are on the increase is wrong; and that what has happened is that due to the rapid development of the country and growth of population there has been large-scale encroachment of flood zones in recent years. It is also said that floods are a mixed

blessing because the rich silt distributed by the devastating floods in one year will permit the raising of bumper crops in the following year. Nevertheless the fact remains that when floods occur a great deal of damage is done and considerable distress is caused to a large number of families, particularly of the poorer classes. Loss of life too occurs frequently; this has been particularly heavy in the recent Bihar floods. The State Governments have in every case taken adequate steps to evacuate people and livestock from the threatened areas and to organize rescue and relief services in which local officials and particularly members of the Defence Services have been of great assistance. In the Third Five Year Plan we have set apart Rs. 61 crores for flood control, drainage, anti-waterlogging and soil erosion schemes. I understand that during the Second Plan the flood-control programme was taken up only on an emergency basis as a centrally-sponsored programme and that now the programme is well under way and that progress has been made in surveys and investigations. In future flood-protection measures will be carried out as a part of State Plans on the basis of 'one river—one plan'. The State Governments have been asked to prepare after thorough investigation 'basin-wise', master-plans for rivers with a flood programme. The schemes will be taken up in order of priority determined by State Governments. It should be possible to ensure in due course an appreciable diminution in the extent of flood damage in areas known to be affected by floods frequently. I understand too that the question whether in designing and constructing dams a larger margin should not be provided for flood absorption and steps taken to ensure that where such a margin was provided it would not encroach upon the purposes of irrigation and power generation is under examination. The importance of the control of flood waters cannot be over-emphasized.

As you know, we are going to have the third general elections under the Constitution in February 1962. Polling will take place between February 19 and February 25 and the last results are expected to be announced by the 2nd of March. The elections in 1951 and 1957 involved 173 and 193 million voters respectively. In the coming elections the electorate will number about 210 million.

To bring the ballot box within walking distance of every village it will be necessary to set up about 226,000 polling booths, each under a presiding officer assisted by some 4 or 5 other officials. This will require tremendous organization. The State Governments will no doubt do all they can to help the Election Commission in this work.

The last general elections were completed according to schedule without any untoward incident in a free atmosphere and I have no doubt that the coming general elections will be even more successfully accomplished, especially because of the passing in the last Session of Parliament of the Representation of the People (Amendment) Act which makes it a corrupt practice to promote feelings of hatred and enmity on grounds of religion, race, caste, community or language. Great care will have to be exercised in the use of this measure.

Politically, economically and socially we have to make rapid progress. To achieve our goal we need efficient, energetic, high-principled personnel. Those in high offices should be more easily accessible and less forbidding to the people than at present. We have many who look down on wealth but not many who look down on power. When one has absolute power, one is tempted to use it absolutely. It is, therefore, essential that those who are in power use their power in a just and selfless way. High standards of integrity are essential for a healthy democratic system.

In the international sphere the year has been clouded by many anxious happenings. Despite meetings between President Kennedy and Prime Minister Khrushchev in June this year, the cold war still persists and has been accentuated particularly on the issue of Berlin. Events in Congo culminating in the tragic death of that great international civil servant Mr Dag Hammarskjöld have been of grave import particularly to the United Nations. Cuba, Angola, Laos, Algeria, Bizerta, Kuwait and Syria have all been centres of trouble. Even as we are meeting here today the U.N. Assembly is holding its annual session in sad circumstances. India has always expressed full faith in the ideals of the U.N. Charter; our faith in the peaceful settlement of international disputes is unshakable and we give evidence of this faith in all our foreign relations. The recent gathering at

Belgrade of 24 non-aligned nations amply bore out this precept and our Prime Minister gave direction and purpose to this important Conference by focusing attention on the main problem of peace and disarmament. We may hope that the most important question of disarmament—complete and controlled—on which all nations are agreed will be brought near a solution. On the successful outcome of this issue rest all our hopes and the very existence of the United Nations and the world. If the present trends based on the maxim 'if we want peace we must prepare for war' are unchecked, the future is bleak. On my recent visit to Hungary, the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany, I found that the people in all these countries were eager for a peaceful settlement of all outstanding problems but were also frightened by the prevalent atmosphere of distrust, anger and hatred aggravated by the recent most regrettable resumption of nuclear tests. The nuclear armaments race which is now on is the outcome of mutual fear and suspicion and can be stopped only if fear gives place to understanding and distrust to confidence. The Prime Minister will no doubt deal with all these matters in his review of the international situation.

In the Commonwealth the main events have been the admission of Cyprus as a member and the breaking away of South Africa as a Republic.

On our own borders there are still several problems to be solved. While China has withdrawn from the military post it had established at Longju and has not attempted any further violations of Indian territory, her general attitude has not changed. Defensive arrangements including the opening up of areas by better communications and development are receiving careful and continuous attention; so also the maintenance of our defensive strength in the face of continuing hostility from across our frontiers with China and Pakistan. In our peaceful but firm policy and progressive preparedness for defence we have the unstinting support of our people.

The signing of the instruments of ratification of the Indus Waters Treaty with Pakistan is a matter for satisfaction, but the goodwill generated by this event has been affected by the recent speeches, threats and propaganda of Pakistan leaders.

In Nepal, the King has taken over the Government; and while we cannot but deplore the fall of the democratic set-up there, our relations with Nepal continue to be friendly and our economic assistance to Nepal has not diminished.

While popular governments are receiving severe set-backs all around us it is a matter of gratification that our own democracy has been working successfully with stability, strength and smoothness. It is, however, part of wisdom not to be complacent. It is good that we are applying our minds seriously to the problem of countering fissiparous forces and turning people's minds in the direction of emotional integration.

The Conferences on national integration held in May and August, and again at the end of September to consider steps to safeguard national integrity and achieve emotional integration of the people were timely. The recent Conference adopted a statement laying down recommendations regarding education, languages, conduct of political parties, etc., and set up a National Integration Council to review such matters and evolve codes of conduct and make recommendations. National integration can be achieved by means of education and the example of the leaders.

India has the largest population—440 millions—held together under a democratic system, despite differences of language, religion and ways of life. In no other country do we have such an assemblage of diverse factors and in no other country do we have such a great effort made to integrate diversities and differences with the bond of unity. The binding force is faith in democracy. We should not compromise with its basic principles, if India is to remain a democratic state. Communalism should be checked. Civil rights, eligibility to public office should be completely independent of the religion we profess. No one should suffer any disability by reason of his adherence or non-adherence to any particular faith.

Those who are familiar with conditions in the States know how deep-rooted is the malady of casteism. It is no less dangerous than communalism. We must not be restorers of the old but the builders of the new. The collective idiosyncrasies which are confused with religious obligations and social taboos mar human relations. We

seem to have built in our minds prison-houses with irremovable barriers. Our idolatry of dead forms has played havoc with our lives. We must be strong enough to have the courage to admit our blunders. We may remember whatever reasons we have for self-confidence. Any tradition lives by constant re-creation; otherwise it becomes a burden; to survive we need a revolution in our thought and outlook. From the altar of the past we should take the living fire and not the dead ashes. Let us remember the past, be alive to the present and create the future with courage in our hearts and faith in ourselves.

We shall now proceed with the discussion of the subjects on the agenda.

THE GOSAMVARDHANA WEEK

SINCE 1952 we have been observing the Gosamvardhana Week under the auspices of the Central Council of Gosamvardhana. Gopāṣṭami Day is one of those traditional festivals which have a deep economic significance. The maintenance and care of the country's cattle wealth occupied an important place in the life of the Indian householder. It is typical of our traditional thinking that a day should be set apart for acknowledging the help we derive from our cattle wealth. Kṛṣṇa tells Arjuna: *mātaraḥ sarvabhūtanām gāvaḥ sarvasukhapradāḥ*. Cows are like mothers to living creatures and confer many benefits.

In our country which is mainly agricultural, where a vast majority of the people subsist on the soil, any development plan for the welfare of the nation as a whole should include the well-being of its cattle wealth. For milk and milk products we depend on the cow today as ever before. For tilling the soil and for rural transport our dependence on the bullock and other cattle is still as great as in earlier days.

In spite of our professions about respect for animal life, especially the cow, we have not developed our cattle wealth. We have

Broadcast message on inauguration, 8 November, 1961

one-fourth of the world's total cattle population. The main source of nutritional elements in the diet of the majority of our people still remains milk. If we are to improve our cattle wealth we have to provide sufficient feeds and fodders and avoid indiscriminate breeding. The fight against disease will have to be waged incessantly.

In the Third Five Year Plan, animal husbandry has, in general, been envisaged as an integral part of a sound system of diversified agriculture. Emphasis is placed on the mixed farming under which 'crop production and animal husbandry are dovetailed for efficient and economic utilization of land, labour and capital.' This integration of farm with animal husbandry is intended to ensure fuller utilization of farm products, maintenance of soil fertility, fuller employment for agriculturists throughout the year and increase in rural income. Comprehensive schemes covering the varied fields of livestock development and dairies are included in the Third Five Year Plan and these will cost about Rs. 90 crore.

The implementation of these programmes should be directly linked with the life of the peasant. The farmer should have a feeling of actual participation in the task. Celebration of the Gosamvardhana Week is intended to bring out the pivotal position of the cow in our national economy and secure increasing public participation in the cattle development programmes. Cattle-shows, calf-rallies, milk-yield competitions, demonstrations of improved cattle, improved methods of fodder production and segregation of unproductive cattle are some of the main features of the celebrations. Popular literature and posters are issued, cultural functions are organized to stress the significance of the occasion. The State Governments and the official and non-official organizations interested in the welfare of the cow such as goshalas and pinjrapoles, I hope, will make these celebrations a success. The central theme for this year's celebrations is the 'rehabilitation of the cow'. This rehabilitation will mean the rehabilitation of millions of our people in the villages.

Let us hope that as a result of the Gosamvardhana Samiti's efforts we shall be able to give a better deal to our cattle and derive

maximum advantage from this neglected source of wealth. Let every Indian, whether he lives in urban or rural areas, consider it to be his duty to be kind and considerate to cattle.

PRESENTATION OF STANDARD TO THE SCINDE HORSE

BRIGADIER Chopra, Colonel Dhillon, Officers, J.C.Os. and Sowars: I am very happy to be present here today to present the new Standard to your Regiment, the Scinde Horse (14th Cavalry). I have noted with interest the history of your Regiment and its deeds of valour which are a reminder of an age which now belongs to history. Chivalry, nevertheless, remains a great quality whatever the age or circumstances in which it is displayed. Time does not make stale the quality of valour. The brave deeds of your Regiment in Scinde more than 120 years ago and later during the First and Second World War are, therefore, a legitimate source of pride for all of you who have inherited that tradition of chivalry.

It takes decades of disciplined life to build up a tradition, and continuity of tradition is valuable to man. What is generally called experience in an individual or in an institution or social organization, can be transmitted only through such continuity. Tradition is a source of inspiration and a guide to human behaviour.

Let me, therefore, congratulate you all on not only inheriting such a heroic tradition but also on imbibing its spirit, for, I am sure, in a disciplined organization like the Armed Forces it is the living spirit which counts. Numerous deeds of sacrificial service have helped to shape the atmosphere in which the officers and men of your Regiment have served for many years.

Valuable as standards and their symbolism are to a fighting force. I think it is good that a custom admits of change of standards. I should think it is symbolic of the changing times through which human society is passing, a rule to which the Armed Forces cannot be an exception. Let the new Standard which is being presented to

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you today be a reminder of the significance of the changes that recent times have brought about in our conditions as a nation and in your conditions of service as the defenders of a sovereign democratic republic. While you will continue to draw inspiration from the past history of your Regiment and its great traditions, I am sure the recent changes of which the new Standard is a symbol will serve to impress upon you the significance of this occasion when the new Standard is presented to you.

I wish you all and all those who have been associated with the Scinde Horse (14th Cavalry) at any time in any capacity the best of luck.

PRESENTATION OF REGIMENTAL GUIDON

BRIGADIER Chaudhuri, Colonel Debu, Officers, Sowars and friends: I appreciate the honour of participating in the function of today when you are changing your Guidon. This Regiment was established in 1809, has seen service in different theatres of war and has won great distinctions even as late as the Second World War: you have a tradition of disciplined service, courageous service on the battlefield. This tradition is something which you have built up by the sweat of your brow, the sacrifice of your lives and by taking enormous risks for the sake of the honour of the Regiment itself.

This particular change is symptomatic of the changes that take place in everything in this world. Time is a great innovator. In 1947 the country attained its Independence and you are now the loyal disciplined soldiers of the independent Republic of India and I have no doubt that the courage, the valour, the chivalry which characterized your history all these years will continue to characterize your activities in the days to come.

Several things are happening in the world. Our soldiers are to be found in different parts of the world today. We sent them to Korea, they were found in Gaza, they are now in Congo. What is it that it symbolizes? That the world today is becoming interdependent and

Sangrur, 9 November, 1961

we are not merely the servants of our own nation but we are the servants of the international community which is growing in the world. We are pledged to support that international organization and under its auspices our people are serving in different parts of the world.

In this world first of all you have the law of the jungle and that is replaced by the rule of legal authority; that has to give place to the reign of love. From the jungle to law and from law to love—that is the progress we have to make. Today we happen to be under the rule of law which is still in the process of establishing itself. We do not have today in this world any established legislative authority controlling the activities of all nations. It is still a situation of armed anarchy and that has to be replaced by an international order with its own organization, legislative, executive and police. All these things will have to be effected. We are, therefore, working for that new world where nations will feel their obligations to one another and where any kind of anti-social nations are put down. That is why we are having our soldiers fighting not merely in our country and for our country. We are also fighting for the establishment of the rule of international law. That is what we are attempting to do. These changes are indicated in the way we have to work. Till 1947 we were not independent and our ideas and purposes were different. Today they are changed and we are not merely the servants of our own nation but we are the servants of an international order.

People suffer from mental disorders, neuroses, because they are lacking in some purpose in life. If we merely grow up without any kind of ideal governing our conduct, we will feel miserable. Unless we feel that we should do something in our life for the honour of our country and for the glory of the human race itself, unless we are prepared to adopt that kind of dedicated, disciplined service, our minds and hearts will suffer from an inward emptiness. A meaningless life we will be leading and we will not have any kind of satisfaction. It is our honour and our glory to serve not only our country but to serve the whole world. We are today in a transitional stage, a stage where we want to subordinate our national

loyalty to human welfare, to human good. That is what we are attempting to do.

Your glorious traditions, I hope, will continue to inspire you and the work which has been done by members of your Regiment in the past will be a glorious inspiration for your future behaviour. I wish you the best of luck and I hope this Guidon which you have adopted today will serve as a symbol for which we will lay down our lives if necessary and work for the glory of the country and the glory of the world. Jai Hind ! Jai Jagat !

THE THIRD ASIAN RAILWAYS CONFERENCE

I AM happy to be here and inaugurate the Third Asian Railways Conference. The two earlier conferences were held in Japan in 1958 and 1960, and now the third is being held in this country.

This is a more representative gathering. Ministers, executive heads, senior railway officials from Iraq, Iran, Japan, Malaya, the Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, the United Arab Republic as well as the Head of the Transport and Communications Division of the ECAFE and observers from France, and the U.K. are attending this Conference.

The world is becoming increasingly interdependent and this interdependence can be sustained by regional co-operation leading to international co-operation on a larger scale. Railwaymen the world over form a fellowship and extend to one another courtesies and privileges. This fraternity cuts across national and racial frontiers and makes for international co-operation. Marx in his Communist Manifesto said: 'Workers of the world unite.' The railwaymen are uniting, I hope, for co-operation and not for conflict.

India has had relations for many centuries with many of the countries in this region. We have had a great deal of give and take, cross-fertilization of ideas. With the new methods of transport

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this process has been speeded up. The railways have contributed not only to interconnection between different countries but to national development. In 1944 when I visited China the railway system there was confined to the coastline. Now, of course, there has been a great development. Railway development is essential for national progress.

The countries of this region have more or less similar geographical, social, cultural and historical conditions and the problems here are quite different from those of highly industrialized countries. In these areas we find colossal poverty, the meaninglessness of millions of lives spent without purpose or interest and extinguished without notice. All these countries in Asia and Africa which were under colonial domination till recently suffer from the nightmares of the past and have dreams of the future and they are anxious to accept the challenge of the times and build up their railway system. So a conference like this will help us to understand our special problems and establish closer relationship between the different countries which will be to great mutual advantage. Exchange of views on problems of railway construction, co-operation and development among the top executives and technical experts of Asia and Africa will be a great stimulus to standardization and further expansion of railways.

We cannot say that all the countries here are under-developed. Japan, for example, is well developed. We are also developing and are making a great deal of railway equipment in our own country. We have now nearly 35,000 miles of railway routes. Steam engines, coaches, wagons, signalling and a host of other accessories and stores are now manufactured in the country. The first electric locomotive has come out of the Locomotive Works at Chittaranjan and the production of diesel engines has also started. It is a novel feature that the Indian Railways have a research and design wing which carries on scientific investigations into the various technical aspects of railway operation. We have also over fifty technical training centres for railway staff, from officers to tradesmen, which are open to the railway systems of other countries.

We have to develop the railway system further on account of the rapidly increasing volume of traffic resulting from the successive Five Year Plans.

While we are advancing in scientific knowledge and technical skill, we are falling behind in the understanding and appreciation of human values. We can handle machines and physical nature beyond the dreams of previous generations, but in dealing with human beings or in handling ourselves we do not seem to have made much progress.

We had in recent weeks three major railway accidents which are causing us grave concern. It is easy to build machines and equipment but it is difficult to build men, though it is absolutely essential. Many of our people suffer from a lack of purpose and dedication. They must be made to realize that they are contributing to the development of the country by their hard, honest and efficient work. This spirit should be developed at all levels from top to bottom. A new climate has to be produced of disciplined, dedicated work.

I hope your deliberations will prove of value to the different countries participating in the Conference.

CHILDREN'S DAY

LET me greet our children on this happy day and send them all my love and good wishes.

Our leaders are working incessantly to make the lives of our children when they grow up full, rich and happy. Children thirst for colour, rhythm, music and movement of life. If they are to grow up as civilized human beings we should by story and tale help to mould their minds and hearts. We should present to them the great men of our history as living images, for children become what they behold. Deep in their nature is reverence for life, a love of goodness and a hatred for wickedness. We should help them to

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understand what is natural, spontaneous, uncorrupt, sound and reach harmony with themselves. We should not kill their curiosity, stunt their imagination or warp their capacity for sympathy.

There is a natural tendency for us elders to inject children with our own views. The ghosts of the past should not be allowed to haunt the present generation.

Children learn from their mothers their ideas and attitudes. Therefore the responsibility of mothers in the education of the children is great.

Children should be enabled to live in congenial surroundings, have decent but not luxurious living conditions and reasonable opportunities for physical, intellectual and artistic development. The care of children is now regarded as a separate branch of knowledge. As in advanced countries we are also attempting to have separate children's libraries, museums, films and theatres. The number of Bal Bhavans is increasing every year. The Indian Council for Child Welfare is expected to co-ordinate child welfare work that is being done in different places and at different levels. We hope that very soon the educational and recreational requirements of all our children will be adequately met.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Children's Day which comes off tomorrow, for, our children should feel happy that the day devoted to their care is also the birthday of our Prime Minister whom they affectionately call 'Chacha Nehru'.

THE SECOND INDUSTRIES FAIR, NEW DELHI

I AM happy to be here this evening and inaugurate the second Industries Fair. We had one in 1955 when we started the Second Five Year Plan and this year we have this Fair even as we are starting the Third Five Year Plan. It is a township which is springing up with all the amenities of canteens, theatres, dispensaries, entertainments. In the designs of the pavilions and the whole

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exhibition we have the expression of the composite culture of India—Hindu and Buddhist, Moghul and modern.

As your Chairman remarked, this is our Prime Minister's birthday. He has been an advocate of planned economic development and the progress we have made in the industrial field is mainly due to his vision of a new India and his devotion to the raising of the material standards of our people.

The fact that this Fair is considerably larger than the previous one and has more foreign countries participating in it shows the industrial advance we have made and the interest other countries are taking in our growth. Our successive Five Year Plans have won the recognition and enlisted the sympathy of advanced nations, and I am sure that we will get the foreign aid and foreign exchange facilities which we need for the successful implementation of the Third Plan. The strong would support the weak and the rich the poor. We will soon have a self-generating economy.

Industrial development is a great leveller and will help to reduce the present inequalities of wealth and opportunity and raise the level of the common people. It will make for social and economic equality. We need a technologically advanced society and a social order which affords equal opportunity to all. People do not want mere acts of charity. They want a purpose to their lives, a sense of dignity. We should not believe that you will earn *my* bread with the sweat of *your* brow. Industrial development makes for national integration. In all countries, major and minor, in public and private sectors, we find workers from all States and from all communities.

There is a tremendous future for Indian industry. In this increasingly interdependent world we should know what is happening in the outside world. From this exhibition our industrialists will know the latest techniques adopted in other countries. I hope they will install new devices in their establishments.

In a country where 70 per cent of the people live in the villages, small-scale industries require to be developed. With the development of electric and atomic power, industries could be dispersed and concentration of power avoided. Dams, electric power, irrigation

projects and fertilizer factories are all intended to effect improvements in village life.

There was a time when India was renowned for her wealth. Today our resources are vast but our wealth is small. We can only create the conditions but it is man's industry that can create the wealth. Nothing is given to those who do not help themselves.

Recently I met a few leaders of European States. With a singular unanimity they all said, 'We are prosperous but unhappy'. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* says: *na vittena tarpaṇīyo manuṣyaḥ*. Man is not satisfied with wealth.

The world should not become a workshop. In a technological society we are left without the means of knowledge of ourselves as we truly are. Technology provides us with an astonishing array of instruments for extending the senses but it does not deepen our intuitive awareness. Modern man is subjected to a number of influences and his existence as an individual is threatened in many ways. An industrial society does not let us remain ourselves. Human beings are being crushed under mechanical necessity and human and spiritual laws are ignored. We should strive to preserve the freedom of the individual. We cannot barter it away for wealth or power.

Until recently mankind has been divided into a vast variety of cultures each with its own traditions and values. But in the last decade or two we have been caught up in a socio-economic revolution of overwhelming magnitude. The vast changes imply that mankind is now for good or for ill forging a unity unlike anything which has previously existed. This unity requires a new ethic of tolerance and goodwill for other peoples and their ways of life. The new society cannot be content with techniques and specialisms. It must have a guiding spirit, a unifying aim, common moral values. If we do not integrate the new developments with the central spiritual outlook we have inherited, our people will suffer from maladjustments, neuroses, split personalities. We should recognize that the industrial machinery is a tool to be used by man for the welfare of the human being.

I wish to congratulate all those who are responsible for the organization of this Fair.

OPENING OF THE GOODYEAR RUBBER TYRE FACTORY

It gives me great pleasure to be here today and open your Rubber Tyre factory. Though Goodyear tyres have been in use in this country for many years, for the first time you have set up your factory where you will produce automobile tyres.

After we achieved our political independence it has been our endeavour to raise the standards of our people and make the country into a modern industrial State. Even our agricultural development requires a good deal of industrialization. We are having dams, electric power and fertilizers.

This project is an indication of the confidence which the advanced nations have in our Plans and programme for economic development. It is also a sign of the growing interdependence of the world. In this project we have Indo-American co-operation. Such co-operative ventures, while they help our country, tend also to increase mutual understanding. I am glad to know that the participation of the Indian public in this project will be increased substantially during the next five years.

Road transport is becoming more and more important and is the only way in which city markets can be brought into touch with rural areas. We have been producing rubber though it used to be exported; but for our own needs we require all the rubber that we produce. We may also have to go in for synthetic rubber. Any organization like this should have a research wing, for the manufacture of rubber is a highly developed industry and is continually to be improved. I hope that at the end of the Third Plan period the raw materials necessary for this industry will be available in our country.

You refer to the fact that this plant lies on the road to the Taj Mahal, that marvellous work of art. It gives us an idea that when we talk about welfare, the term should not be limited to material well-being. In a comfort-loving age, it is necessary for us to think that the human being has other dimensions to his life than the economic. It is my hope that in this huge factory you will have the amenities for the development of the artistic sensibility and the imaginative power

Ballabgarh, 18 November, 1961

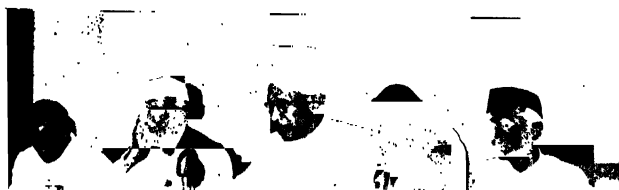
Giving away the prizes at
the annual function of the
Indian School of Public
Administration, New
Delhi, 20 November 1959



Delivering the inaugural
address at the Annual
General Meeting of the
Central Social Welfare
Board, at Vigyan Bhavan,
New Delhi, 24 March,
1961



Inaugurating the National Integration Conference, New Delhi, 28 September, 1961



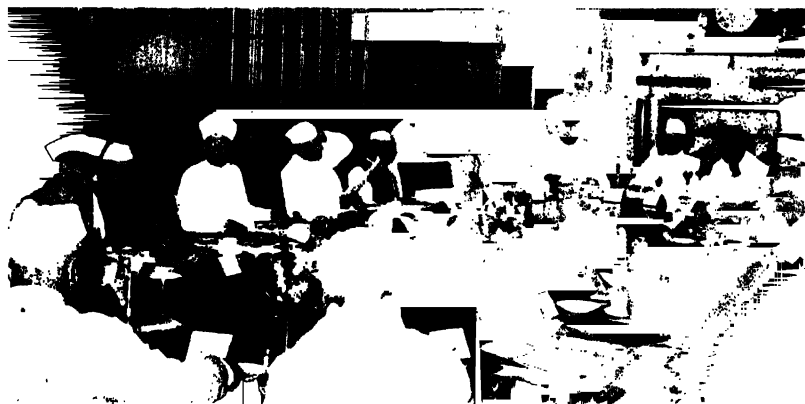


Speaking at the inauguration of the First Channel of the Rajasthan Canal Project, Hanumangarh, 11 October, 1961



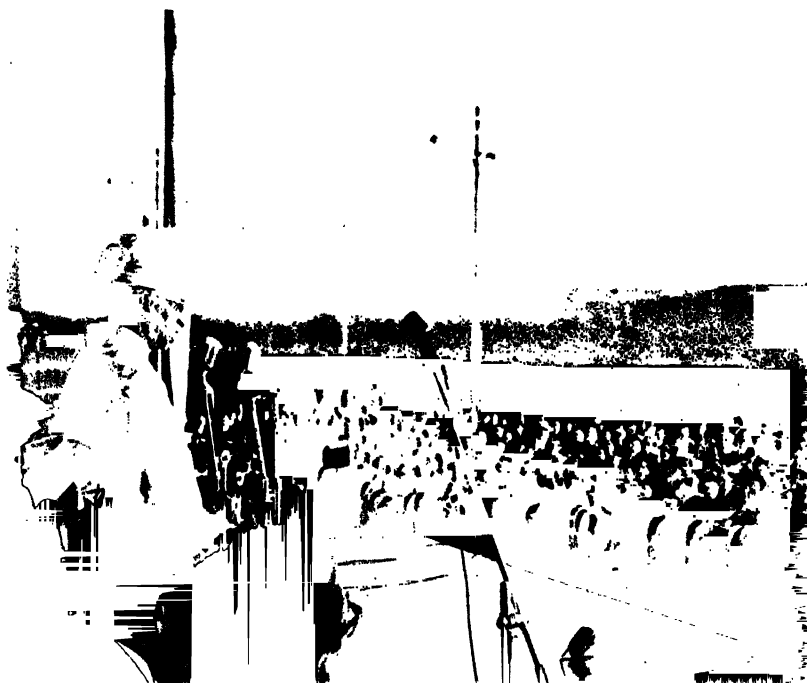
At the Third Asiatic Railways Conference, New Delhi, 13 November, 1961

Inaugurating the Conference of Governors, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 28 October, 1961





Inaugurating the Second Industries Fair, New Delhi,
14 November, 1961





Inaugurating the Goodyear Tyre Factory at Ballabhgarh, 18 November, 1961



Presenting a certificate
to a Girl Guide, Delhi, 28 November
1961

of the workers. It is a way in which we can combine workers at all levels from top to bottom into a single fellowship.

I congratulate Goodyears on their enterprise. I have pleasure in commissioning this plant and wish it greater success in the future.

PRESENTATION OF CERTIFICATES TO SCOUTS AND GUIDES

I SHOULD like to congratulate all those who, by their deeds of service, have today been raised to the status of President's Scouts and Guides. When it was suggested to me that this alteration should be made, I readily agreed. The President is the Head of our State and the symbol of our nation. All those who style themselves President's Scouts and Guides should regard the country as their first loyalty, and province, caste, community and religion as subordinate to that. That is the significance of your being called today President's Scouts and Guides.

There is no doubt that the idea of the Scouts is that you should train yourself in service. Even in service there are people who have other ambitions: but you should compete in active service and not for winning laurels or getting prizes or getting to the top of the greasy pole. You have in your National Commissioner a man of independence, rectitude and service. Our wishes for him are that he should live a hundred years and die young.

Our country is passing through a very critical phase. We should all be persons of tomorrow and not persons of yesterday. It is the non-conformists who have pushed the world along and not the conformists. You should not care for mere safety or comfort. Youth means a spirit of adventure, resilience of mind, openness of heart and readiness to serve wherever you have any kind of need for service. Wherever there is suffering, you must help to remove it. Our country which is being built up today requires the services of all young men and women who have the one ultimate object of building the country and not disintegrating it by exalting smaller things. I would merely say

Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 28 November, 1961

that I wish you all a very happy future. Remember the promises that you have taken, and always serve your country and fellow men. We are getting into an international community. Nationalism is not enough. That is not likely to save us. We should therefore be of service not only to our country but to the international community. When you say you serve God, you worship God. God is the universal spirit. He is there guiding all nations and so it should be your duty to serve not only your countrymen but also fellow men who belong to other nations. I wish you well.

THE INTERNATIONAL HOCKEY CONGRESS, NEW DELHI

FRIENDS: I am glad to inaugurate the International Hockey Congress.

The year 1962 has started well for Indian sports. Our cricketers won the rubber against England. Our hockey players won all the matches they played at Ahmedabad without conceding a single goal. I have no doubt that hockey also will draw large crowds even as cricket does.

We have had a great reputation so far as hockey is concerned. In all the Olympics we secured the championship. Only in Rome on the last occasion we yielded to Pakistan, but it must be realized that Indians and Pakistanis played together till the other day. So this victory by Pakistan does not disturb us. We share in the joy of Pakistan.

We should not, however, be satisfied with our achievements. Those foreign teams with which we play have also a great deal to teach us and we should be ever ready to learn from them and improve our own standards.

Anything which brings together members of different nations is to be welcomed in these days of cold war and war of nerves. A competition is healthy if it is in space flights or on the playing fields. It is unhealthy and ruinous when it deals with armaments

24 January, 1962

and destructive weapons. I therefore greatly welcome this conference of international hockey players. Just as the scientists work the world over for the same goal, even so sports activities bind together players in different countries. Every act of friendly co-operation goes a little way towards healing the international conflicts.

MESSAGE TO THE NATION

OUR honoured President, Dr Rajendra Prasad, in spite of weak health has been gracious enough to send a message to the nation which I shall now read:

On the happy occasion of our 13th Republic Day, I would like to greet all my countrymen and Indian nationals abroad. I wish them happiness and the best of luck in the coming year. Ever since the formation of our Republic in 1950, I have been addressing the people on this occasion year after year, but on account of indifferent health, just at present I have to content myself with offering them my best wishes. I am happy that Dr S. Radhakrishnan, our Vice-President, will be addressing the nation. Familiar as our people are with his thought-provoking speeches, I am sure his address will inspire them.

I hope and pray that the current year may continue to be a year of peace in the world and of prosperity for our people and the country.

Our heartfelt prayers, it is needless to say, go out for the President's rapid recovery and restoration to health.

May I join the President on this happy occasion in greeting our countrymen here and abroad and wishing them all a happy and useful year?

It is the first time that the people of Goa are joining the Republic Day celebrations. Though a part of Indian society, they were

New Delhi, 25 January, 1962

politically separated for many years. That separation has now ended. I extend to them a special welcome.

We will have the general elections next month and over 210 million voters are eligible to vote. I have no doubt that the candidates and the voters will act with dignity and decency and not yield to the pressures of caste and community. What counts is not so much victory or defeat as civilized behaviour.

We are in the first year of the Third Five Year Plan and our achievements this year are not inconsiderable and we have every hope that at the end of the Plan period our targets will be reached. Our progress is achieved by our men and women who are vital, capable, devoted, ready to sacrifice their personal interests for the public good. The Indian sections of the recent Industries Fair showed the marked advance we have made in many branches.

Our national income and per capita income have registered substantial increases as the result of the efforts of the last ten years. There is, however, no ground for complacency. Millions of our people still live in conditions which are far from satisfactory. The deaths due to cold and exposure reported in recent weeks are an indication of the vast work that lies ahead of us. Mother Earth out of her bounty gives freely to us all sunlight, air and water; in the same spirit, we should distribute our resources of food, clothing and shelter equitably. They should not be used to enslave fellow men or secure domination over the lives of others. We have to speed up the economic revolution that is now in progress if we are to make up for the neglect of centuries.

More important than the political and economic changes are the social ones. We cannot live two or three thousand years ago; we can live only in our own time. We cannot contract out of the present. We have to win freedom in our generation by vigilance in the face of social institutions which tend to enslave us. Our Constitution rightly repudiates the restrictions of caste and the practice of untouchability. If we are to weld together the different sections of our society into a homogeneous community, these provisions should be strictly enforced. We must fight prejudice by our example,

defend social equality even in the face of persecution. By removing poverty and economic backwardness from which many people suffer, we help to establish an equitable social order, a stable society. Social justice is the basic condition for national cohesion.

National integration can be achieved only by combating communal tendencies, caste discrimination, and developing national feelings. We should not blast the hopes of the future by the hatreds of the past. Our minds must shed their dead ideas even as a tree throws off its withered leaves.

The perils facing our nation can be overcome and its latent possibilities realized only if we educate everyone to the full extent of his capacity. It is not enough to increase the number of schools and colleges. We must maintain high standards and impart knowledge in depth as well as in breadth. We can save ourselves and help to save mankind if we maintain righteous standards and grow in wisdom and humanity.

In the international sphere, we are in a period of tensions and anxieties. Though the cold war is still continuing, there has also been competition in the realm of science—in space flights, for example. These adventures into outer space should induce in us a sense of humility and of the oneness of the tiny world in which we live. We must dispel the mists of misunderstanding, the clouds of suspicion, by patient and determined effort to understand one another and end the war of nerves. Harsh words, angry accusations do not help, however justified they may be. There is so much goodwill and friendship in the heart of man whether he is an Asian or an African, a European or an American. These require to be tapped. High is the dignity of man, lofty his aspirations, deep and wonderful his comprehension of the marvellous world that he inhabits. He can certainly reshape history.

The prospect ahead of us is bright; only we should make ourselves the servants of the future. If we have no cause to live for, we tend to live for ourselves and our lives become petty, trivial and futile. Let us today dedicate ourselves to the building of a new India on moral foundations, and the making of a new world. Jai Hind !

ADDRESS IN RAJYA SABHA

BEFORE I proceed with the business this morning, I have to inform you that 78 members are retiring from this House on the 2nd of April. Of these nine are elected to Lok Sabha and three to the State Assemblies. Of other members five get elected to Lok Sabha and four to the State Assemblies. Thus 21 of our Members will serve in other legislative bodies. I hope that many of those who are not included in this list may get back to this House. Those who are leaving us, I hope, will remember with pleasure their association with this House. Even those who have to give up their legislative activities will have opportunities for service open to them. I should like to express our appreciation of their services all these years in the Rajya Sabha.

The spirit of the modern age is spelt out by the three great revolutions : the American in the summer of 1776 in Philadelphia which stressed political liberty, freedom from foreign domination, liberation from colonial status; the French in the summer of 1778 in Paris, which emphasized social equality and freedom from social oppression; and the Soviet revolution in October 1917 in Moscow, which had for its main objective economic freedom, freedom from economic exploitation. We have put these three ideals of Liberty, Equality and Justice in the Preamble to our Constitution. We are attempting to achieve a happy blend of these three fundamentals of civilized life.

The basis of all these is the human individual. He has to be liberated from political disabilities, social oppression and economic constraint. Only then will it be possible for him to pursue truth in an unfettered way, and to this urge for truth in the individual we owe all the great systems of religious and philosophic thought, the masterpieces of art and literature, the great scientific discoveries and technological contrivances. In achieving the ideals of social equality, of economic justice, a great deal has to be done and this will provide ample scope for the service of patriotic Indians.

30 March, 1962

The Deputy Chairman, who has been with us from the very beginning and who is retiring, has written to me:

‘It was my proud privilege to work as Deputy Chairman under your distinguished guidance. During the past ten years I have tried to hold the scales even between Members and Members, and parties and parties, and also maintain dignity and decorum in the House. In this difficult task I had the fullest co-operation and goodwill from all sides of the House. I feel really sad that I have to part company with the Members of the House. I am grateful to them for all the courtesy and co-operation they have shown to me. I request you kindly to convey my deep and sincere thanks to the Members of the House for their indulgence.’

He brought to his work as Deputy Chairman great knowledge, energy and devotion. We will miss him and the other members and we wish them all a useful and happy future.

SARDAR LAB SINGH NARANG

I WISH someone more closely connected with your distinguished guest, Sardar Lab Singh Narang, were here today to felicitate him on his varied services to our country in the fields of political life, journalism and literature. These things also have more or less similar objectives. The function of literature is to raise the quality of human beings and give us the hope of new life; journalism spreads these ideals to the masses and political life frames the laws which are necessary for developing moral personalities. To make just laws is easy, but training our people to observe them is more difficult. Here is an opportunity for education. In a larger sense politics, journalism and literature are instruments of public education. You are more familiar with his work in these varied fields than I am. So I do not propose to dwell on the details of his life and work.

He has been an ardent political worker for nearly forty years and a nationalist in his outlook, approach and activities. In our country I

5 April, 1962

think it is time that we avoided communal labels and adopted political principles and programmes for our parties. One party a little to the right of the centre, another a little to the left of the centre and one to the extreme left : polarization in this way is essential if we are to subordinate caste, communal and ethnical considerations in our public life.

I am glad to know that you intend to honour Sardarji for his past services. I hope that he will live for many years to continue his activities and work for the welfare of our country.

SHRIMATI SAROJINI NAIDU LECTURES

I AM glad to be here today and inaugurate the Shrimati Sarojini Naidu Lectures. I had known her for nearly forty years. She was never tense or stern but always relaxed and easy. A vivid, warm, vital and intense personality, she beamed radiance and benevolence wherever she was. She was the most outstanding Indian woman of her generation. She was notable as a liberal thinker, a literary artist, a social reformer and a political fighter. She was a member of the Congress Working Committee for a number of years, the President of the Indian National Congress (1925) and the President of the First Asian Relations Conference which was held in Delhi in 1947. In view of her significant work in the awakening of Asia, these lectures were founded in her memory. It was a great joy to listen to her for her oratory was most moving.

When the University Education Commission visited Lucknow towards the end of 1948, we were her guests at Government House, Lucknow. In our travels we were guests at several Government Houses and it was our unanimous feeling that the Lucknow Government House over which she presided was the best in the country. She drew us out and made us feel at home. She was friendliness and charm made visible. She is the only woman in the

Inaugural Address at the Indian School of International Studies,
New Delhi, 9 April, 1962

Hall of Fame in our Parliament. I count her affection and friendly feeling for me among my most precious possessions.

Sarojini Naidu embodied in herself the most valuable elements of India's composite culture: Hindu and Buddhist, Muslim and British. She was a happy blend of the values of both East and West.

As a friend of Gokhale and Gandhiji, she was a liberal in her outlook. Sarojini Naidu, Sapru, Kunzru have all that liberality of outlook. It is unfortunate that Dr Kunzru has not been returned to Rajya Sabha. I hope he will get back to parliamentary life soon. He is a man of great public spirit, rectitude and independence.

Liberalism avoids the extremes of reaction and licence : *ati sarvatra varjayet*. Liberalism includes respect for the individual, freedom of speech, toleration and democracy. It is opposed to the way of authority. It is hostile to dogmatic religion and to totalitarian politics. It stands for freedom against authority. It is against censorship of literature, against the punishment of non-conformists and the heretic. It cannot stand tyranny in any form. It cannot stand the worship of personality which leads to the diminution of individual liberty.

My friend, Shri K.M. Panikkar, the first lecturer in the series, is a distinguished student of our thought and of world thought, and some of his books have had an impact on world opinion and we are fortunate to have him with us today. I hope he will throw light on many facets of liberalism which sometimes seem to be in danger of eclipse.

DR RAJENDRA PRASAD

WE are grateful to Dr Rajendra Prasad for his varied and notable services to our country. His life has been a noble example of unswerving fidelity to national welfare. This has been his sole pre-occupation. He was a leading figure in our struggle for

Broadcast message to bid farewell to Dr Rajendra Prasad, New Delhi, May, 1962

Independence. After the achievement of Independence, he functioned as the President of our Republic for over 12 years. During this time he maintained the prestige of the office and observed constitutional proprieties in letter and in spirit. So many people owe so much to him.

Rajen Babu, as he is affectionately called, is essentially a religious man with firm belief in the Supreme. Who is the help of the helpless - *gatiḥ agatīnām*. In this respect he symbolizes the age-old spirit of the country. True greatness consists in spiritual strength which is the secret of our genius and power. All other values, economic, political, artistic, derive from it.

I have no doubt that even after he retires from his high office, he will serve the people by working for a union of hearts, for national coherence and international friendship.

ON TOURISM

IN ancient times we helped to promote understanding of the different peoples and institutions of our country by means of pilgrimages. Varanasi, Rameswaram, Puri and Dwarka have been important pilgrimage centres. When we visit these places they cease to be mere dots on the map. As we travel from one place to another we acquire an idea of the different peoples, their institutions and temperaments. Even when communications were difficult, people travelled from one part of the world to another to visit holy places. Travel has been an essential means of cultural understanding and integration.

Today the world is converging into one society. Modern transport has reduced the boundaries of the world to the dimensions of a small country. Physical proximity has led to the mingling of races and cultures. The need to understand other peoples and their ways has become imperative. We can no more lead isolated lives. We

have to understand others and get on with them. Collaboration of peoples is the only way for human survival in this nuclear age.

India has always had an attraction for countries and people outside. It has been known as the home of ancient monuments--Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim, and modern works. All the great faiths are practised here by their adherents without any interference by others. It is the largest parliamentary democracy in the world which permits the maximum freedom of thought and expression to its citizens.

Though an ancient country, India is forward-looking. It is in the process of a vast social and economic revolution within the framework of democratic institutions. Its great rivers are being harnessed to give industrial power. Ancient crafts exist side by side with modern industrial plants.

In this age of international co-operation other countries are anxious to know about the economic needs and the cultural values of our people. Any tourist to India will be fascinated by the glories of ancient times, impressed by the achievements of modern India and will also see a little of the squalor and the sadness of our country. He will see the efforts we are making to remove the slums, fight poverty and raise the material standards and mental health of our people. Tourism widens our horizon, promotes understanding, stimulates trade, fosters fellowship.

We should do our best to provide the tourists with the comforts and amenities to which they are accustomed in their own countries, and I do hope that all efforts will be made to make the tourists comfortable and happy during their travels in our country.

*PREFATORY INTRODUCTIONS
AND MESSAGES*

THE SPEECHES OF SHYAMA PRASAD MOOKERJI

I HAVE great pleasure in introducing this book of speeches and addresses of the late Shyama Prasad Mookerji. I first met him in 1921 when I took up the Philosophy Chair in Calcutta University, and as the years passed I developed great admiration and affection for him. He was a man of wide knowledge and unshakable purpose. The dynamic forcefulness of his personality made a lasting impression on all those who came in contact with him. He had to choose between public service and private happiness and he chose the former. He held many offices in his relatively short life. He was Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, Minister in undivided Bengal and a Minister of the Central Cabinet. With the passage of time and the clearing away of certain misconceptions, his reputation as a staunch patriot and great parliamentarian has risen.

Though he was for many years connected with the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh his religion was not of the narrow kind. He was catholic in his sympathies and broadminded in his outlook. Patriotism is not merely love of the land in which we are born; it is respect for the ideals by which we are sustained. That man has a spiritual dimension, that its development can take place in various ways, that we should have respect for all these ways, are some of the cardinal features of the Indian tradition. It is Indian and not merely Hindu. Shyama Prasad Mookerji was an ardent advocate of these great ideals.

In his public life he was never afraid of expressing his inmost convictions. In silence the cruellest lies are told. When great wrongs are committed it is criminal to be silent in the hope that truth will one day find its voice. In a democratic society one should speak out, especially when we are developing an unequalled power of not seeing what we do not wish to see.

Shyama Prasad Mookerji was an educator, humanist and politician. These essays illustrate the clarity of his thinking and the simplicity of his writing.

VARIED RHYTHMS

YUVARAJ Karan Singh has brought together in this book his reflections on many topics of importance. A precocious young man, he made his first public speech when he was 11. For the last 10 years, he has been the Head of the Jammu and Kashmir State. His main interests happen to be philosophy and religion, art and music.

He is the Chancellor of the University of Jammu and Kashmir, Pro-Chancellor of the University of Banaras, a Bachelor of Arts of the University of Jammu and Kashmir, and a Master of Arts of the University of Delhi. Owing to his official position, he is called upon to make speeches on a variety of topics. His versatility of mind, wide learning and insight into the meaning of things and the mind of events are evident from the range of subjects on which he has spoken—Shri Aurobindo, Parliamentary Democracy, Leh, Amarnath, the Soviet Union. The basic human hunger for the unseen runs through all these pages. Let the author have the last word:

I cherish a desire in the recesses of my heart to build one day myself a small Āsram in such surroundings where, with the body and mind made pure and free from the grasping tentacles of desire and fear, ego and attachment, I can concentrate upon the unalloyed purity of nature and thereby perhaps achieve spiritual illumination. If the day comes when I am able to fulfil this desire, then I can think of no better spot than where I am now sitting, overlooking this placid lake.

PATHWAY TO GOD IN KANNADA LITERATURE

I AM honoured by the invitation to say a few words on the occasion of the release of the late Professor R. D. Ranade's last work, *Pathway to God in Kannada Literature* on the 5th of June which happens to be the anniversary of his passing away. I enjoyed his friendship and affection from the time I met him in 1925 at the first Indian Philosophical Congress in Calcutta. His simplicity, his

Varied Rhythms, 10 March, 1960

Message, 5 June, 1960

integrity, his sweet and affectionate nature impressed all who came in contact with him.

For many years he taught philosophy at Poona, at Amalner, and at Allahabad. Philosophy, for him, was not a profession but a consuming passion. He thought not merely with his intellect but with his whole life.

He had remarkable linguistic equipment. Apart from his mastery of English, he knew Greek and German and had a command of Hindi, Marathi and Kannada. He made very valuable contributions to our knowledge of mysticism in Marathi, Hindi and Kannada literatures. He expressed his deepest convictions in words and ways intelligible to the ordinary man.

Professor Ranade tells us on the very first page of this book that 'mysticism is a way of spiritual life, which binds all humanity together.' Religion, at its highest, is a matter of direct experience of ultimate reality, an experience which is intuitive, super-sensuous and different from normal modes of thought. On the strength of that experience we cannot make ontological affirmations. The intellectual apprehension and formulation of transcendent truth belong to a different order than the experience which they attempt to explain. The immediacy is not there; the conviction of finality is not present. The need for uttering the unutterable leads to ambiguity of utterance. Professor Ranade tells us that 'no real mystic usually gives expression to his own experience.' An American poet, Emily Dickinson says, 'Tell the truth but tell it slant.'

Those who have realized truth go beyond the sectarian descriptions which give faltering expression to the realized truth. The mystics of Karnataka are either Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite but they both belong to the same family.

*śaivā vayarā na khalu tatra vicāraṇīyaṁ
pañcākṣarī japaparā nitarāṁ tathāpi
ceto madiyamatasī kusumāvabhāsaṁ
smerānaṁ smarati gopavadhūktīśoraṁ*

'I am a follower of Śiva; there need not be any doubt about it nor of my due meditation of the five-lettered text sacred to Śiva (*namaḥ śivāya*). Nevertheless, my mind constantly recalls the image of the

beautiful Kṛṣṇa, the beloved of the *gopi* maidens.' On this a comment is made that 'there is not any ultimate difference between Śiva (Maheśvara), the Lord of the World, and Viṣṇu (Janārdana), the Spirit of the Universe. So I give my devotion to Śiva.'

*maheśvare vā jagatāmadhiśvare
janārdane vā jagadantarātmani
na yastu bheda pratipattirasti me
tathāpi, bhaktis taruṇenduśekhare*

If religious unity is to be established in the world, the relativity of descriptions and approaches to God requires to be recognized.

The way to attain the experience is by meditation and prayer. All the religious thinkers ask us to know the deepest in us.

ninna, nijava nī noḍo

Know the truth of your self. God dwells in the silence, the cave, the *guhā* of the heart. He is *Guheśvara*. Without a retreat into the self, true human life is not possible. The Buddha withdraws into the forest. Jesus goes apart into the desert for forty days. Muhammad gets into his tent.

Prayer to a personal expression of the Supreme is also enjoined.

Professor Ranade gives a detailed account of the different modes of approach adopted by the saint-singers of Karnataka. There are a few references to his own experiences.

The God-realized souls form a blessed community, *anubhava-maṇṭapa*, working with love for afflicted mankind. History is the progressive embodiment of the vision of human brotherhood culminating in a society of free spirits, a body of men dedicated to seeking Truth. Ranade spent his life in the pursuit of this ideal. He reminds us of the verse in Śaṅkarācārya's *Moha-mudgara* :

*guru-caraṇāmbuja nirbhara bhaktaḥ saṁsārād
acirād bhava muktaḥ
sēndriya-mānasa-niyamād eva draṅṣyasi nija-
hṛdayasthaṁ devaṁ*

'Cultivate a strong devotion to the lotus feet of your preceptor; thereby get freed soon from *saṁsāra*; only by a control of the senses and the mind does one attain a vision of the Divine seated in one's heart.'

ADVAITA AND VIŚIŚTĀDVAITA

DR S.M.S. Chari's book on *Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita—A Study based on the Śatadūṣaṇī* is an important and valuable contribution to our knowledge of Vedānta in two of its major aspects. In his book *Śatadūṣaṇī*, Vedānta Deśika closely follows the argument of Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya*. Vedānta Deśika is a great dialectician and an eminent thinker and his work gives us valuable information about the way in which charges and counter-charges were handled in his time.

The Upaniṣads state two forms of the Supreme—Absolute Brahman and Personal God, Īśvara. The essence of religion is a mode of approach to God or to a divine state of being. While following one path we treat the others as valid. The two are complementary to each other. There is an aspect of religion which concentrates on the worship of Personal God and requires the grace and compassion of the Supreme.

The two, *advaita* and *viśiṣṭādvaita*, are not rival creeds but are recognized as fully orthodox. Even Śaṅkara who is a great protagonist of *advaita* is said to have written poems of a devotional nature, e.g.,

Save me from pride, O Viṣṇu, cure my restless mind
Still my thirst for the waters of this world's mirage
Be gracious, Lord, to this Thy humble creature,
And rescue him from the ocean of this world.

The Marathi poet Tukaram did not feel drawn to the way of *advaita* though he knew all about it. 'I do not seek Divine knowledge. I shall ever desire dual consciousness. Thou shalt ever remain my Lord and I Thy worshipper.'

The distinction between the Absolute Brahman and Personal God is not peculiar to Hindu thought. A Christian classic *Theologia Germanica* says: 'To God, as Godhead, appertain neither will nor knowledge, nor manifestation nor anything that we can name or say or conceive. But to God as God, it belongeth to express Himself, and know and love Himself, and to reveal Himself to Himself.'¹ Ruysbroeck says that to attain the Supreme, we must go out 'beyond all things into the emptiness.'²

12 January, 1961

1. XXXI Golden Treasury edition

2. *The Dark Light*, Book 11. LXV

No teacher of the *advaita* holds that the world is absolutely unreal or illusory. It is real as a manifestation of being but unreal as a self-subsisting entity.

Dr Chari's work is an excellent exposition of the *viśiṣṭādvaita* views and will, I hope, find a large circle of readers.

DADA NEHRU

IT is a pleasure to know that a small book on Dada Nehru will soon be available for our children. The education of children should include a vision of greatness. We are lucky in our country that we have had some really great men in recent times whose lives still guide us. It is essential that our children should know about them.

The truly great have a special appeal to children for they have open and flexible minds. It will be a tragedy if our young people get set in their thoughts and ways and become conservatives even from infancy. They should have openness, elasticity and freedom of mind. Even in old age Motilal Nehru kept the spirit of youth unlike many others who develop immunity to change. Look at Jawaharlal Nehru, who has the ripeness and wisdom of age, as well as the flexibility and openness of youth! He may have derived these qualities to some extent from Dada Nehru. The readers of this small book may acquire a little of the spirit of Dada Nehru.

SCIENCE AND THE MODERN WORLD

SCIENCE attempts to obtain a disinterested knowledge of the world of nature. In technology we use this knowledge for the manipulation of things. Under the stimulus of recent advances in

Dada Nehru : Sila Gujral. 21 April, 1961

Introduction to Volumes on *Science and the Modern World*,
22 April, 1961

scientific knowledge and technological devices, the pattern of life is changing at an unprecedented rate. The daily life of the people is being revolutionized. The peoples of Asia and Africa have now a vision of the possibility of the good life for all. They believe that science can liberate their lives from destitution and disease. In advanced countries life-expectancy has been raised, work-loads have been reduced; the leisure for self-development for all people is not a remote ideal. We can help those who are physically, mentally and emotionally deficient. Man is struggling to shape himself anew that he may achieve his high destiny which life has shown can be his. The wonders of science, what it has done for us, what it will do for us, are a part of the picture.

Scientists have also created for us a period of tension, danger and opportunity. If other civilizations perished in creeping paralysis or by pernicious anaemia, ours may end, if it does, in convulsions. The new powers which science and technology have put into our hands have increased vastly our capacity for shaping our life for good or evil. If rightly used, these powers can give us strength, a fuller freedom and a better human life for the individual and society. If abused, they can bring about chaos and destruction. The present is a period of testing.

The scientist is a dedicated servant of truth. Because he deals with the world of nature, he is likely to overlook the role of the human spirit in scientific endeavour. If we believe that there is nothing more than the world of nature to which we are tied, we will suffer from an inner emptiness, anxiety, split consciousness. If we realize that it is the spirit of man that sits in judgment on nature, that penetrates into it and reveals its secrets, we will know that man is essentially a subject, a spark of the spirit and not a mere object, a thing among things. When this subjectivity is recognized, the distance between sciences and humanities is diminished.

The future is not inevitable. Even the materialists who believe that man is determined behave as though they had decisions to make and it is important that they decide rightly. In great crises we become conscious not only of our tenderness and compassion but of our fear, greed and hostility to others. Man, the subject,

can control his inward distortions and shape the world to the pattern of his ideal.

The different manifestations of the human spirit form a coherent whole. Our intellectual house cannot be divided against itself. Knowledge is a unity. The different sciences and the subjects covered by the humanities are interconnected by relevance and meaning.

In this exciting age of science, our young men and women should be given a balanced education. They should be taught the methods and achievements of sciences, basic and applied, as well as literature, philosophy and history. In many countries in the East there is increased stress on what is called 'general education'. In these books the first principles of the basic sciences are stated in clear, simple language, intelligible even to those who have no previous knowledge of these subjects by authors who are well-known authorities in the subjects dealt with.

I hope these books will be read widely by our young students.

TAGORE

SHRI Prafulla Chandra Das has compiled an interesting account of the impact of Tagore's life and work on the Western world through the statements of a few illustrious Western writers.

As a great artist Tagore has universal appeal. His *Visvabharati* stands for the co-operation of the peoples of the world. The intense consciousness of the separateness of one's own people leads to conflicts. As the poet of light, Tagore wishes to destroy the darkness of national egoism. India has affirmed for centuries her faith in unity in variety, a unity which comprehends all. Such a unity cannot be reached through the path of negation. Different peoples approach truth from different sides, from different angles, and to have a full comprehension, we must accept whatever is valuable in other people's cultures.

Impact of Tagore's Life and Work on the Western World, Prafulla Chandra Das, 27 April, 1961

Unity is truth, division is falsehood. Tagore asks us to reject false pride and accept the light produced in other countries, for they all belong to the common illumination.

I hope that this interesting work will be read widely.

THE SPEECHES OF MOTILAL NEHRU

I FIRST met Motilal Nehru when he came to Calcutta for presiding over the Congress session in 1928. In the same year he produced what is called 'The Nehru Report'—our first effort at Constitution-making. I saw him also during the years when he was leading the Swarajya Party in the Central Assembly at Delhi. I met him again a few months before his death when he was undergoing treatment at Calcutta. His thoughts in those last days were about Swaraj for which he worked with such devotion and fervour.

On his death-bed at Allahabad Motilal Nehru was waiting for Gandhiji. When he came Gandhiji said: 'We shall surely win Swaraj if you survive this crisis.' Motilal Nehru said: 'I am going soon, Mahatmaji, and I shall not be here to see Swaraj, but I know you have won it and will soon have it.' Our greatest sorrow is that he did not live to see that day.

The name of Motilal Nehru will be permanently inscribed in the annals of our history not only for his individual contribution but also for the sacrifices made by the members of his family, inspired by his example and the influence of Gandhiji.

Motilal Nehru had an enfranchised mind, free from all prejudices and hospitable to all good influences, Hindu, Muslim and British. His appearance reminded us of the ancient Roman consuls. He had a regal presence, a lordly manner and moved through the world on a high plane and dominated every gathering. He had not the taint of commonness but had a distinction in manner. Under his

The Voice of Freedom: Selected Speeches of Pandit Motilal Nehru,
K. M. Panikkar and A. Pershad. 6 May, 1961

impressive and seemingly imperturbable bearing lay hidden an unusual sensitivity and a remarkable capacity for feeling pain.

The speeches delivered by him on various occasions and brought together in this volume bring out prominently the capaciousness and clarity of his intellect and his skill as a parliamentarian. We find in them a deep knowledge of the law, a quick wit, and an awareness of all aspects of the contemporary scene. His vision was not limited to politics. In fact, he realized that political servitude was the result mainly of the evils of the social system, and for this, as he stated openly, the British were not to blame. What he strove for was, in his own phrase, 'all forms and degrees of freedom'. This volume that is being published in the year that marks the centenary of his birth, will serve to remind generations of our countrymen of a generous and fearless personality, and of a life of nobility and patriotism, service and sacrifice.

TAGORE, THE CITIZEN OF THE WORLD

SHRI Vivek Bhattacharya has written a number of articles on Tagore, dealing with different sides of his personality—the influence of the Buddha on him, the relationship with Gandhiji, etc.

Rabindranath wrote plays, poems, verses, novels, short stories and composed more than 2,000 songs which are sung by people, rich and poor, townsmen and village folk. He effected a revolution in the traditions of music and his songs have a touch of genius. They deal with universal aspects of laughter and tears, sorrow and joy, courage and strength, desolation and death. Through them he has found an abiding place in the minds and hearts of the common people.

As a poet of great maturity of mind Rabindranath induces in his readers breadth of vision, confidence in life and serenity of mind. Rabindranath insists that men are born to love and be loved.

Tagore, the Citizen of the World, Vivek Bhattacharya. 23 May, 1961

God is love. To sin against love is to sin against God, the Beloved, Who is with us all the time: *vihāra-śayyāsana-bhojaneṣu*. Rabindranath's message is that of ancient India which is universal in outlook.

MOTILAL NEHRU

I AM glad to know that a short biography of Motilal Nehru will be available to our young men in this book by Shri Pershad. Motilal Nehru came under the influence of Gandhiji who insisted that social and political relationships should conform to the standards of ethics and decency. This ethical approach is embodied in parliamentary democracy. Motilal Nehru established the traditions of parliamentary democracy which we are now adopting.

Gandhiji called our attention to the fundamental task of national integration by eliminating caste barriers, uplifting the dispossessed and the helpless, liberating men's minds from a host of self-inflicted and utterly unnecessary burdens. Motilal was deeply interested in this more fundamental task of giving the individual freedom of spirit and breadth of vision.

Even today we have to remember that national consolidation and unity are the pre-requisites of national freedom, stability and progress.

Readers of this book will understand how from humble beginnings Motilal came to occupy the front place in our politics. His life is an inspiring example to us all.

Motilal Nehru (A Short Political Biography), A. Pershad and Pramila Suri,
23 May, 1961

SCIENCE AND SPIRIT

IT is a very wrong notion that science and religion are opposed to each other. It may be that some religious dogmas are in conflict with scientific theories, but the spirit of religion that there is a mystery in the world which cannot be comprehended by scientific calculation is accepted by some of the greatest scientists. Einstein, for example, affirms that science is inadequate to grasp the spiritual verities. A little science takes us away from religion but a little more science brings us back to it.

It is wrong to assume that science inclines us to a materialistic view of the world, that everything in the world can be reduced to matter and motion. If science tells us anything, it is this: that the mind of man is capable of grasping the secrets of nature and is thus superior to nature. There is a non-natural element in man if we identify nature with our environment, which sits in judgment over nature and grasps its character and tendencies.

The qualities which are needed for scientific research are also those emphasized in religion—rigorous discipline, suppression of personal preferences, disinterestedness, absorption in the nature of the object.

The recent advances in science compel us to recognize that the real world cannot be captured within the categories of science. The spread of the scientific outlook helps us to rid religions of their superstitious excrescences and purify them. Thus science and religion help each other.

Art and literature, science and religion, are varied expressions of the human spirit, and these expressions which have the same source cannot conflict with one another. Our intellectual house cannot be divided against itself.

Shri S. V. Ramamurty is steeped in the spirit of Indian thought which affirms the unity of life and the universe. He is familiar with the latest advances in sciences, especially mathematics and physics. His articles collected in this book give us his reflections on the

many problems which are agitating serious students of science philosophy and religion.

I hope the book will be widely read.

CHRISTIAN CONCERN IN HINDUISM

SHRI P. D. Devanandan's book on *Christian Concern in Hinduism* is, in the author's words, 'a sincere effort to understand and interpret the living reality of Hinduism as a contemporary religion'. It is written with learning and insight.

To me Hinduism means an unceasing quest for the realization of divine truth, as the *gāyatrī mantra* insists, and a widening of sympathy, breaking down the barriers that divide man from man.

Above the troubles and perplexities of the world shines the spiritual presence and power which dwells in the soul of man. The Lord is the light of lights. The light of Heaven is perceived in the soul. To see the light within, to be born again in the spirit is the high calling of every child of God. *hr̥di ayam*: I am in the heart. *deho devālayo nāma*: the body is the temple of God. Religions speak to us of the way to life in God. Their purpose is to awaken the individual awareness of the Divine in man.

What is called *amṛta*, the deathless state, eternal life, is one of direct communication with the Divine. When we have spiritual perception, we have the impression of seeing a flash of dazzling light as we read of Paul and the other prophets, or flames of fire as we read of Moses and others, *vidyullekheva bhāsyarā*. It is a state of illumination, of enhanced moral and intellectual power, which comes with the integration of personality. This integration comes when self-assertion ceases, when we become free from mental conflicts. Then we attain what St. Paul calls the peace that passeth all understanding. ¹

26 May, 1961

1. Phil. IV. 7

This kind of religion does not make us insensitive to social obligations. We are our brother's keepers. In the unity of spirit we are members one of another. We must try to live in that consciousness and work for the kingdom of peace and goodwill on earth. Until this end is realized, religion is an instrument of perpetual growth, incessant revolution.

For attaining this personal experience, a mediator may be helpful but not essential. God has not left himself without a witness anywhere. The witness has come to men of all races and creeds. Today we see many men of different races seeking the goal of life in God in different ways. We are partners in the same enterprise whatever paths we pursue. The co-existence of different religions should grow into co-operation until a community of spirit is established among all seekers of the Divine.

Dr K. S. KRISHNAN

I FIRST met Dr Krishnan forty years ago when he was working with Professor Raman who had a very high impression of Krishnan's scientific ability. Krishnan's work soon attracted the attention of fellow-scientists and won for him the Fellowship of the Royal Society, twenty years ago when he was 43. He served in the Universities of Dacca and Allahabad and he has been for some years the Director of the National Physical Laboratory in Delhi. He was also a National Professor of Physics.

Apart from his scientific activities which he would expound with great force and eloquence in Tamil, he was an ardent student of the religious classics of our country in both Tamil and Sanskrit. In his life, he demonstrated that one can be a great scientist and a believer. Science and religion are both expressions of the human spirit and cannot in the last analysis conflict with each other. In both absolute attention is absolute prayer. The miracles of space are great, but those which occur in the human spirit are perhaps greater.

Message, 14 June, 1961

Krishnan was a man of pious disposition and friendly nature. The world of science has lost a great figure and his many friends and admirers not only in India but abroad will miss him a great deal.

TRENDS IN INDIAN PAINTING

SHRI Manohar Kaul, the author of this book on *Trends in Indian Painting*, is both an artist and an art critic. His book gives a readable account of the story of Indian painting from the pictorial language of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa to our own times. The history of humanity is the history of art and culture. Our inheritance in this matter is indeed remarkable as this book indicates.

Our painting was at its best when it was able to appreciate and, where possible, assimilate the valuable features of other systems. Some of our contemporary painters show the influence of modernist work in the West. What makes great artists great is their power to see the truth—individual and social, material and spiritual—and communicate it in a manner that it is easily grasped. Greatness in this matter, as in others, presupposes discipline of the mind and the emotions. While the pictures are meant for the public, they are executed in solitude. The spirit of concentration has to be maintained if our traditions in painting are to be preserved and even enhanced.

TOWARDS A NEW ERA

I AM glad that the important speeches of the late Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, given in the Ceylon Legislative Assembly are collected in this volume and made easily accessible to interested readers.

The late Prime Minister played an important role in Ceylon politics for a number of years. I met him on a few occasions in Ceylon and here, and was impressed by his intellectual seriousness, robust common sense and ardent patriotism. These speeches bring out his progressive outlook and faith in democratic values. He was conscious of the past, alive to the present and unafraid of the future.

Ceylon is a compact area with a beautiful landscape, rich natural resources and artistically inclined people. Given goodwill and co-operative spirit it may be made into a prosperous State where the citizens can lead full lives. The different religions which are practised by the people of Ceylon emphasize inner cleansing, renunciation, losing one's life to gain it. If these principles are taken seriously, Ceylon may look forward to a glorious future. The high principles which animated the late Prime Minister Bandaranaike's career will I hope, inspire the present generation.

INDIAN NEWS FEATURE ALLIANCE PRESS YEAR BOOK, 1962

I AM happy to know that we will now have a Press Year Book published through the enterprise of INFA. All those interested at home and abroad in the development of the Indian Press will find this book very valuable.

The Press in India has been a potent instrument in the education of public opinion in matters of political life, social reform, and economic development. It has had its ups and downs. In the early days as

13 September, 1961
10 November, 1961

Mr. Iswara Dutt, who is one of our most learned journalists, observes in his interesting and instructive article on the *Indian Press: A Panoramic Survey*, the Press was in the hands of Englishmen.

According to James Mill, the early papers 'were useless vehicles of local information of any nature; they were filled with indecorous attacks upon private life and ignorant censures of Public measures.' We still find now and then such material in our Press, though by and large our newspapers are responsible, intelligent and dispassionate in their estimates of men and measures.

We have had illustrious editors like Kristodas Pal, Motilal Ghosh, Surendra Nath Banerjea, G. Subramanya Iyer, Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, C. Y. Chintamani, K. Natarajan, and several others. They were known for their rectitude and impartiality and their views were greatly esteemed by the readers and even by those who were criticized by them. They had training of mind and discipline of spirit. Their editorials were not merely propaganda—selecting certain facts, arranging them as they pleased and omitting those which did not suit their purpose. Of course the most distinguished of our journalists was M. K. Gandhi who through his *Young India* and *Harijan* moulded a nation's soul.

We are living in exciting times and it is for the Press to give expression to the passions and aspirations of our people. I hope this work will help to give all those who work in the field of journalism a right orientation.

UMA'S TAPASYĀ

THE book sumptuously brought out with fine illustrations deals with Uma's penance and the birth of Kumāra. It presents the need for austerity and exalts purity of love and the glory of motherhood. Penance or *tapasyā* helps the human being to discover the spirit in him, learn the values of truth and love and gain grace and strength to implement the great ideals. In a comfort-loving world

15 November, 1961

full of restlessness, it is not easy to maintain a balanced outlook. In the present world with its threat of nuclear war, increasing crimes of violence and fierce competition in economic life it is good to be reminded of the values of self-control and pure devotion.

ĪŚĀ UPANIṢAD

NEXT to the *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Īśa Upaniṣad* has been most commented on. Shri Hariharan has written a full and elaborate commentary and has attempted to place the *Īśa Upaniṣad* in the organic growth of Indian metaphysical and ethical thought. He has brought out with great learning the spirit of Indian culture, the spirit of comprehension and assimilation as against that of negation and rejection. The *Īśa Upaniṣad* sets forth *jñāna-karma-samuccaya*, or synthesis of wisdom and work. It combines the ideals of work and renunciation in the theory of *niṣkāma karma*—desireless action.

*viveki sarvadā muktaḥ kurvato nāsti kartṛtā
ālepavādamāśritya śrīkṛṣṇa-janakau yathā*

We are called upon to work in the world, to take interest in its progress and achieve world solidarity or *loka-saṁgraha* but we should keep our spirit uninvolved or detached from the results of our activities.

The book not only deals with the teachings of the *Īśa Upaniṣad*, but relates it to its background in the Vedas and the Upaniṣads and compares this work with the *Bhagavadgītā*, *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* and other treatises. The comments of the writer are always interesting even though we may not agree with them in every way.

Our tradition is not all right nor is it all wrong. We should cast away what is unsuitable to our age with its increasing knowledge, growing conscience and expanding ambitions. This spirit of perpetual renewal makes our culture ever old, ever new. Shri Hariharan rightly repudiates the view that Indian culture is mystic, mysterious

21 March, 1962

and occult and does not deal with worldly activities. The four ends of life, *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*, make out that man's fulfilment consists in a balanced development of ethical, economic, artistic and spiritual sides.

I hope that this book written with vast learning and insight will be widely read.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

THE span of Pandit Motilal Nehru's life covers a critical period in the formation and growth of modern India. Born in 1861, a few years after the first ineffectual movement for liberation, his eventful career came to a close after the Indian National Congress had pledged itself to the attainment of complete Independence.

The rare sanity of his outlook, his instinct for promoting communal harmony, and his discerning tenacity in fighting for advanced causes contributed to the orderliness of the struggle and the emergence of the Indian Nation.

Unlike other self-made men, he chose deliberately to give up a life of affluence and became a rebel statesman of singular courage and charm. His graciousness and generosity were legendary, and to the last, he drew the devotion of his followers and commanded the admiration of his opponents. A civilized human being with innate culture, leadership was his *metier*. He was a great lawyer, a great parliamentarian and a great leader in the history of Indian Independence.

Motilal Nehru Birth Centenary Souvenir. L. R. Nair

TAGORE AND ROMAIN ROLLAND

IT is a pleasure to know that a volume on *Romain Rolland-Tagore* will be published on the occasion of the Tagore Birth Centenary. It will consist of the letters exchanged between the two friends as well as comments by Romain Rolland on Tagore found in other books or correspondence with others. Romain Rolland was greatly interested in Indian thought and his books on *Mahatma Gandhi* (1922-23) and *Ramakrishna-Vivekananda* (1923-28) were translated from French into most European and Indian languages. Romain Rolland was drawn to Rabindranath Tagore by his book on *Nationalism* which was published in 1916. After reading the book which made a deep impression on him, he invited Tagore to sign the Declaration of Human Rights (1920-21). Romain Rolland kept up his correspondence with Rabindranath Tagore till the latter's decease in 1941.

Madame Rolland with great devotion sorted out the papers, journals and diaries and prepared for publication this volume on Rolland and Tagore. This work will mark a great step in the furtherance not only of the cause of Indo-French cultural relations but of East-West relations in general.

Both these great writers insist on two fundamental needs of modern life. The new industrial society has a tendency to suppress the individual. Many of our social maladjustments can be traced to the tyranny of organizations. We should try to elevate the human, the personal and not exalt the mechanical. Human civilizations have their origin in the minds of men who are also its protectors. So long as the spirit in man is kept alive there is hope.

Humanity is above all nations. Tagore's Visvabharati 'represents India, where she has her wealth of mind which is for all. Visvabharati acknowledges India's obligation to offer to others the hospitality of her best culture and India's right to accept from others their best'.

The great gifts of imagination and art of these two representative thinkers of our age were used for fostering unity of mankind and saving the world from the scourge of war. Though they drew from

Foreword to *Romain Rolland-Tagore*, edited by Madame Rolland

different backgrounds, one Indian and the other European, the two became advocates of universal humanism. 'Life, according to India, must not only grow within itself but outgrow itself into a higher meaning beyond it, as a flower outgrows itself into fruit.'

ALBERT SCHWEITZER

OUR generation is blessed by the life and work of Dr Albert Schweitzer. His principle of reverence for life is akin to the idea of *ahimsā* or non-violence; rendered positively, it is love for all. Only we have to take that principle seriously at a time like this when the great Powers are at the end of the precipice of the fatal road they have been following.

We must be able to win over our most formidable enemies. If we make an effort to understand our enemies, the common humanity we all share will be made manifest. We are one with all. It is an exciting age of science and technology in which we live. If these great achievements are used properly we can build a world free from hunger, oppression, disease and privation. But it is a big 'if'.

Our consciences seem to be dulled by crimes and outrages. In the last war the scientific achievements were distorted into manifestations of horror. It is the violence in our hearts that accounts for great wars. Man himself is the present crisis. He is the greatest danger.

If we take a long view of human evolution we will find that man has grown through tenderness, compassion and endurance and not through anger, greed and passion. The human infant enters the world in a precarious condition, helpless and undeveloped. To enable the offspring to have the care and guidance of the parents for as long a period as possible, the casual sex-relationship is replaced by an enduring family life. The regulations of family life promote the welfare of the young. The infant acquires speech, information

Foreword to A Symposium on Albert Schweitzer, edited by Jacks

about the world and ways of behaviour from the social group into which he is born. Man is perpetually outgrowing himself.

A determined effort by men and women of goodwill can halt the drift to violence and disintegration. This will be possible only if we are able to remould our inner being and refashion our nature. Man is sublime in his potentialities, he is possessed of possibilities of ever deeper understanding, more genuine warmth of fellow-feeling, richer appreciation of reality and higher creativity. A future worth contemplating will not be achieved solely by flights to the far side of the moon. It will not be found in space. It will be achieved, if it is achieved at all, in our individual hearts.

Dr Schweitzer has been insisting on the transformation of human beings so as to make the principle of reverence for all life the central concept of human behaviour.

PROFESSOR HELMUTH VON GLASENAPP

IT gives me great happiness to be associated with the seventieth birthday celebrations of Professor Helmuth von Glasenapp and to have this opportunity to wish him many years of good health and undiminished energy in the pursuit of Indology, a subject to which he has dedicated his life.

From the days when I first met Professor von Glasenapp in India many years ago, I have regarded him as the most profound living German Indologist. Indefatigable in his studies and cautious and objective in the evaluation of the material he gathers, his interest in India's ancient heritage has been marked by that spirit of dedication for which German scholars of earlier generations—Max Müller, Paul Deussen, Hermann Jacobi, Rudolf Otto and many others — have been justly famous.

Professor von Glasenapp has earned for Tuebingen, where he has for many years occupied the Chair of Indology, an honoured place as the home of Sanskrit studies and of research in Indian philosophy

and religion. His studies in Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism and comparative religion, his books on Madhva and Vallabha, and particularly his treatise *Kant and the World of the East* have contributed to a greater understanding between East and West. His lasting service to Indian culture, however, is not limited to his own studies and contributions. He has trained a large number of scholars who will continue in his footsteps.

This commemoration volume of articles—scattered over a long period of time—that Professor von Glasenapp has contributed to many research journals and official publications of societies of oriental learning which Dr Möller, Dr Nölle and Dr Sprockhoff have compiled is an impressive tribute to their 'guru'.

This publication will be read with gratitude by scholars and laymen interested in India and her age-old culture.

PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE OF INDIAN PARLIAMENT

MR S. S. More's important book on the *Practice and Procedure of Indian Parliament* written with vast learning and large experience of Indian parliamentary institutions is a valuable guide to all students of our public life. He traces the evolution of parliamentary practice and procedure from 1854 when the Legislative Council was first established, points out the material changes in the composition and functions of the legislatures which were effected in them from time to time, compares our institutions with those of Great Britain and the Dominions and urges that our parliamentary system embodies the basic pattern of democracy.

Democracy is not merely a form of government; it is a way of life, an act of faith in the dignity and freedom of the individual. Man is not a mere wisp of straw tossed about by the winds of nature or of history. Democracy is opposed to the view that holds that the life of each man and woman is completely determined by sub-human forces beyond the control or even the knowledge of

Foreword to Practice and Procedure of Indian Parliament by S. S. More

either the individual or of society. It holds that history is moved forward by men and ideas. Human beings are not to be treated as commodities to be bought and sold.

In the vastly standardized world, human beings seem to lose faith in themselves. Our vision should not be dimmed and our purpose should not be shaken by circumstances which seem to be forbidding. The advances of science and technology indicate the wondrous power of the mind of man, and a true democracy upholds the dignity of the human mind. John Milton says: 'Know that to be free is the same thing as to be pious, to be wise, to be temperate and just, to be frugal and abstinent and lastly to be magnanimous and brave.' ¹ To make the world a better place to live in, we must do a better job in ourselves. Freedom is inward restraint. Adult franchise which we have adopted is an expression of our faith in the sanctity and freedom of the human individual.

A democratic form of government should function for the good of every person. We do not have a democratic form of government if a few individuals have privileges that are denied to others. By checks and balances a democratic constitution prevents the concentration of power in a few people. Possession of power does not lead to humility but to conceit. Acton's words are well known: 'Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely.' Acton quotes Leibniz: 'Those who have more power are liable to sin more; no theorem in geometry is more certain than this.' Fenelon said: 'Power is poison. It corrupts the conscience, hardens the heart and confounds the understanding.' Those who have power need to exercise great vigilance.

Political freedom is not enough. No one can exercise his vote freely so long as he is a victim of hunger, poverty, illiteracy and exploitation. People require to be emancipated from a slavery far more cruel than chains and shackles. The obstacles to freedom require to be removed. The economic side of the democratic ideal is equally important. Democracy is not to be identified with *status quo* and vested interests. The awakening of our people from listless fatalism to self-awareness and even to self-assertion is a ground

1. *Second Defence*

for hope. Our people are no longer willing to accept passively the gross inequalities of wealth and opportunity. An equitable social economy can be achieved only by the deliberate direction and control of the production and distribution of wealth. We must adopt the maxim that the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. We must ensure and improve the welfare of the poorest classes without endangering the spiritual heritage which gives dignity to the life of man.

We must organize our economic life on the principles of political freedom and economic opportunity for all. We have adopted a mixed economy where the State undertakes enterprises which are too large for private enterprise.

When we do not have an educated electorate, a few leaders manipulate votes and adopt the methods of mass psychology. The responsibility of the leaders in a democratic constitution is great. Gandhiji tells us: 'Those who claim to lead the masses must resolutely refuse to be led by them if we want to avoid mob law and desire ordered progress for the country. I believe that mere protestation of one's opinion and surrender to the mass opinion is not only not enough, but in matters of vital importance, leaders must act contrary to the mass opinion if it does not commend itself to their reason.'¹

Fraternity, fellowship among nations, is one of our directives. Science has created one world and a world community is the goal of human enterprise on earth. We live near the frontier that divides the old from the new. It was said of Pericles that he was a good Athenian but a bad Greek. He did not help to weld the Greek States into a nation. Today nationalism has become out of date. It has become a force for disunity. It is efficient and valuable within a society but it is not the ultimate principle of human behaviour. An unrestricted development of different nations, speaking different languages, following different laws and customs and seeking divergent ends will reduce the world to a babel of people. Nationalism is inadequate, and in the modern age self-destructive. It is a form of mass egotism and self-idolatry. Even nation-states have to admit a law

higher than their own laws. Gandhiji said that his love of the Indian nation was different from the usual chauvinism. 'My idea of nationalism', he said, 'is that my country may become free; that if need be, the whole country may die so that the human race may live.' None of the differences separating the governments of the world are as important as our membership of the human family.

Other countries revere as heroes those who believe in force as the only means for solving social and economic problems. They liberate their countries from political subjection by military methods. In India we revere as heroes those who believe in peace and use peaceful methods for the liberation of the country and for promoting social progress and solidarity among the people. Gandhiji's movement is of a piece with the Indian tradition which has established the empire of the spirit over a large part of Asia, an empire which is more enduring than what material power can achieve.

The greatest era of human history on earth is within our reach. There is no area that cannot be made habitable or fertile, no disease that cannot be conquered. We have only to rediscover our moral strength and redefine our purposes. No nation can prosper unless all prosper. This is the lesson of the diminished world, the shrunken globe. This is the price not of prosperity but of survival.

The working of parliamentary institutions helps us to acquire the qualities of humility, of tolerance. In short it is an education in human decency.

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